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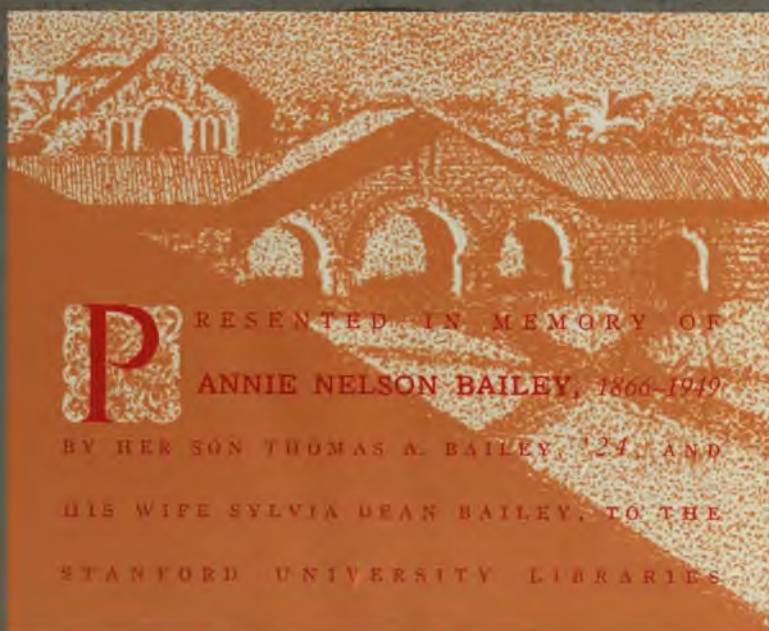
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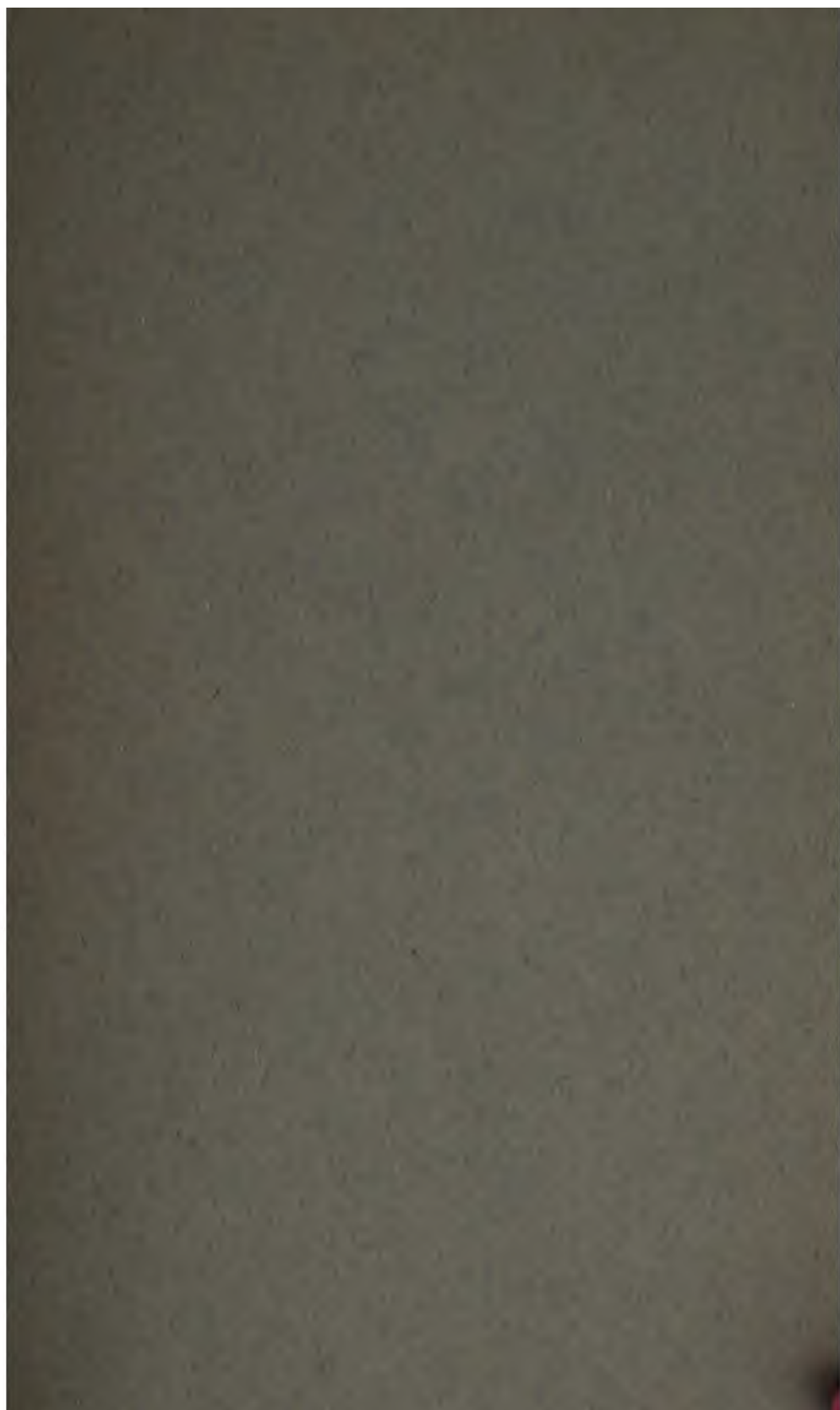
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PUBLICATION OFFICE
428 LAFAYETTE STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y., U. S. A.





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Campbell, Henry Colin

WISCONSIN

IN THREE CENTURIES

1634-1905

NARRATIVE OF THREE CENTURIES IN THE MAKING OF AN
AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH ILLUSTRATED WITH
NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS OF HISTORIC SCENES
AND LANDMARKS PORTRAITS AND
FACSIMILES OF RARE PRINTS
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CHAPTER I
PONTIAC AND HIS INDIAN REBELLION

THE memorable uprising against the British which was conceived and carried out by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa, directly affected Wisconsin, as it involved, on one side or the other, Wisconsin Indians, while the British post at Green Bay was one of the outposts that Pontiac sought to destroy.

The causes of this outbreak are interesting. The British, though they had possession of the West, had no more idea of colonizing it than the French had had. In fact, their policy, so far as it was formed, was strongly against colonization. A proclamation issued in October, 1763, by George III., establishing governments for new territory acquired from the French, made no provision for settling the immense stretch of land lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and extending northward beyond Lake Superior. Subjects of the King were expressly forbidden from forming settlements and from buying from the Indians land lying west of the source of the rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. The object, it was stated in the proclamation, was to convince the Indians that British justice would not permit British encroachment upon Indian lands. The real reasons are set forth in a report in 1772 by the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. One was to confine the colonies within such distance of the coast as to keep them subordinate to and dependent upon the mother country, commercially and governmentally. The extension of the fur trade, it was further stated, depended upon leaving the Indians in

undisturbed possession of their hunting grounds. Therefore, "let the savages enjoy their deserts in quiet," argued the report.

The truth was that the mother was already afraid of her children. The subjugation of New France, by removing a common enemy, had severed one bond between Great Britain and the Colonies, and it was feared, with reason, that if considerable bodies of settlers established themselves at points far in the interior, the mother country's hold upon them would be greatly weakened. The closer to tidewater that they were kept the more easily they could be governed.

With New France's fall had come one radical change in the condition of the Indians themselves. Before their friendship had been zealously courted by French and British, both of whom were lavish in giving presents to the savages, but now the British were in absolute control, so far as white men were concerned, and their attitude toward the Indians changed to one of comparative indifference. The Indians were obliged to trade with the British, and so there was no good reason why the British should turn out of their way to make stronger friends of the savages. It did not take the Indians long to learn that for them the times had changed. The conduct of the British unduly emphasized the change. They, though more honest in barter with the Indians than the French had been, did not possess the Frenchman's gift of fraternizing with the savages. The Briton despised the red man and he showed it not only by indifference, but by insult, even by blows.



PONTIAC.

In this connection it becomes important to realize that the Indian allies of the French in former years were the head and front of Pontiac's movement against the British. To begin with, Pontiac's own tribe, the Ottawa, had been devoted to the French from the time of the coming of Champlain. So had the Hurons. Fully as strong and almost as old had been the friendship between the Chippewa and the Potawatomi and the French. These nations, which were well represented among Pontiac's followers, were all, in greater or less degree, Wisconsin Indians. But while they enlisted under the banner of the wily, far-seeing Pontiac, other Wisconsin nations, including the Sauk, Foxes, Menominee and Winnebago, espoused the cause of the British. The chief of the Sauk told the Frenchmen that they wanted his young men to fight the English for them, but that he would not permit them to do so. The Menominee expressed sorrow at having fought against the British in the recent French war and declared that they were glad to have the British among them. Their goods, they said, were cheaper by half than French goods had been.

That Pontiac hoped for French help in his war against the British and that the French settlers hoped for the success of Pontiac's arms there is no doubt. To French traders in British employ the Sauk chief already quoted called the French "English dogs," after these traders had tried to enlist him in support of Pontiac. Ever since the fall of Quebec, the French had told the Indians that their countrymen would return and

sweep the British from the land. Pontiac saw in French aid the one feasible way of driving out the British, against whom he had fought, by the side of the French, when Braddock was defeated. He thought that that success might be repeated on even a larger scale and he was prepared to lead the way.

When Rogers, the famous partisan, was leading two hundred of his Rangers to Detroit, to take possession of that post, he was met on the shore of Lake Erie in November, 1760, by Pontiac himself, who boldly asked him how he had dared to enter the country without his permission. Rogers told him that the British had defeated the French and that peace among Indians and white men alike would now become general. Pontiac, suddenly changing his attitude, told Rogers that he was willing to live at peace with the English, who could stay in his country so long as they treated him properly. Thereupon the pipe of peace was smoked by chiefs and officers and all seemed well. The British attitude toward him, however, did not accord with his idea of the deference to which he was entitled and he lost no time in forming a confederacy of Indian nations to oust the English from the West. He visited Milwaukee, where there was a considerable village of nondescript Indians. Lieutenant Gorrell, in his Journal for August 21st, 1762, mentions these Indians in an unfavorable manner, as follows: "A party of Indians came from Milwacky, and demanded credit, which was refused." Pontiac himself went to Milwaukee in 1763 and spoke eloquently and labored hard to get the Indians of that

locality, as well as representatives of other tribes whom he had assembled for the purpose, to join in the movement against the English. "We must all join in one common cause and sweep the white man from the country," he is reported to have said to the assemblage, after he had recited the encroachments of the white men and the wrongs which they had inflicted upon the Indians.

Pontiac's confederacy, in its proportions, fell short of his hopes, but it nevertheless became formidable. Plans were made to massacre the small garrisons at the scattered posts maintained by the British. In each case the plot was for a small party of Indians, feigning friendship, to enter the fort, where others would soon join them, and then for all the savages to turn suddenly upon the British soldiers and kill them or make them captives. Between May 16th and June 18th, the Indians captured Fort Sandusky, on the headwaters of the Sandusky River, in Ohio; Fort St. Joseph, on the St. Joseph River, in Michigan; Fort Ouatanon, now Lafayette, Indiana; Fort Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania; Fort Le Boeuf, in Erie County, Pennsylvania; Fort Venango, in Venango County, Pennsylvania; and the posts at Carlisle and Bedford, Pennsylvania, as well as Fort Michilimackinac, now Mackinaw City.

These victories show how general and well considered the plans of Pontiac were and how suddenly the blows were dealt when all was ready. The garrison at Detroit narrowly escaped being massacred by Pontiac himself. An Indian girl warned Major Gladwin, then

commandant at Detroit, but afterward major general, that on the following day, May 7th, Pontiac, accompanied by sixty Indians, with short guns concealed under their blankets, would appear at the fort, demand admission upon the plea of friendship, but once within the walls, she said the Indians would slay the garrison at a signal from Pontiac. When Pontiac did appear, he was admitted to the fort, together with his Indian followers, but his first glance showed him that the garrison was under arms and ready to repay treachery with death. He did not give the signal agreed upon, but instead went through the form of holding a council with the officers. He was allowed to depart in peace, as Gladwin did not desire an open rupture with the Indians, but once without the walls, Pontiac threw aside his mask and laid siege to the fort. During the weeks that followed the English were more than once on the point of losing hope. A relief detachment that sailed from Niagara in a small schooner was waylaid and killed or captured or scattered while preparing to camp not far from the mouth of the Detroit River. Late in July, however, Captain Dalzell succeeded in reaching Detroit with two hundred and eighty men. He soon persuaded Gladwin to allow him to make a sortie against the Indians. Pontiac learned of this through Canadian sympathizers at Detroit and he ambuscaded Dalzell and his force, with the result that the British were glad to retreat after they had lost three score men in killed and wounded. Captain Dalzell himself was slain while trying to save a wounded comrade from falling into

the hands of the Indians. This fight has been named Bloody Bridge. Ottawa and Chippewa composed the force that defeated the British on this occasion. The fort itself, now that the garrison had been reinforced and the troops had been supplied with provisions and ammunition, was impregnable against the Indians.

Pontiac's cause received a severe blow when Colonel Boquet reinforced Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Duquesne, which he did after inflicting a heavy loss upon Indians who attacked him on the road. They compelled him to make a stand in an open field, while they shot down his men from ambush, but he was equal to the occasion. Two companies of his troops made feint of retreating and the Indians rushed into the open to pursue them. A second line of troops lying in ambush opened fire upon the savages and soon the retreating line, which had changed its direction, attacked the savage foe in flank. The Indians fled, but not before sixty of their number had fallen. The result of the battle of Bushy Run, as it is known, destroyed the backbone of the Indian uprising. In November the siege of Detroit was raised.

The capture by the Indians of Fort Michilimackinac, which had taken place June 2nd, 1763, is an interesting episode in Indian warfare. A party of Chippewa Indians together with some visiting Sauk, were playing la crosse, or *baggataway*, as the Indians called it. The officers had been urgently invited to witness the game and Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie were standing near the gate, while most of the garrison, com-

posed of about thirty-five men, looked on from nearby points. The field was crowded with running, jumping, squirming Indians. Suddenly the ball was knocked close to the open gate. The Chippewa rushed toward the gate, which was open, and as they reached it, the yells characteristic of la crosse changed to war whoops. Waiting squaws drew guns from beneath their blankets and handed them to the howling braves. The men within the fort were slain without having any chance to defend themselves. Etherington and Leslie, the two officers, together with Alexander Henry, the fur trader, and another trader named Bostwick, and eleven soldiers, were held captives by the Chippewa. While they were taken to Beaver Island, the two officers and two English traders were in turn captured from the Chippewa by a hundred Ottawa warriors, near L'Arbre Croche. The Ottawa, who were probably jealous of the enterprise of the Chippewa in capturing the fort without saying anything to them about the matter, told the four Englishmen that the Chippewa had intended to kill them at Beaver Island. At Mackinac the Ottawa and the Chippewa held a council and it was finally decided that the English prisoners should be returned to the Ottawa. Henry, however, was saved by the intercession of Wawatam, a Chippewa chief, who had adopted the trader as his brother about a year before. Wawatam now urged this claim and it was recognized by his war chief, whom the French called *Le Grand Sauteur*, meaning Great Chippewa of the Falls (Sault Ste Marie). Just as Henry regained his liberty, he learned that a Chip-

pewa had entered the house where seven English soldiers were imprisoned and had slain all the helpless captives with his knife.

The rescue of Etherington and Leslie was effected by the small garrison of Fort Edward Augustus at Green Bay, supplemented by a party of Wisconsin Indians. Lieutenant Gorrell, in command at Green Bay, was surprised and shocked by receiving from Captain Etherington a letter announcing the loss of the fort at Mackinac to the Chippewa and the massacre of Lieutenant Jamet and half of the garrison. Etherington ordered Gorrell to set out at once with his soldiers and what English traders he could collect and proceed to L'Arbre Croche. Strict guard all the way was enjoined. Etherington's letter was dated June 11th, and Gorrell received it June 15th, from the hands of an Ottawa. The commandant at Green Bay immediately held a council with the Menominee, whom he told what had happened. They immediately said that they would send a party of warriors to Mackinac with him. Sauk, Foxes and Winnebago, summoned by runners, showed themselves to be friendly to the British. The garrison, in several batteaux, and about ninety Indians, mostly Menominee, but including the chief of the Sauk, left on the 21st for Mackinac. They reached L'Arbre Croche on the 30th, and formed in order of battle, the Menominee to the fore. The Ottawa, though Pontiac and many others of their nation were trying to capture Detroit, welcomed the newcomers, smoked the pipe of peace with them and finally yielded to a demand for the

captive Britons, who were soon on their way to Montreal.

The prompt action of the Wisconsin Indians, particularly the Menominee, in espousing the cause of the English, not only compelled neutrality on the part of the Ottawa of L'Arbre Croche and the Chippewa west of Sault Ste Marie, but it was beyond doubt a material factor in saving Detroit from capture during the summer.

The next year General Bradstreet led his army to the Great Lakes, relieved Detroit and reoccupied the posts at Green Bay, Mackinac and Sault Ste Marie. Pontiac endeavored, but in vain, to keep up the fight against the British. He rapidly lost ground everywhere. He was finally assassinated by an Illinois Indian near the village of Cahokia, in Illinois, not far from St. Louis.

CHAPTER II
THE ANGLO-SAXON WEDGE

IF claims made in his behalf are correct, the first Anglo-Saxon to explore the regions of the Upper Lakes and the Upper Mississippi Valley was Jonathan Carver, the story of whose life is filled with adventure and misfortune. His biographers say that he was a grandson of William Joseph Carver, of Wigan, Lancashire, who served with such distinction as a captain in King William's army during the Irish campaign that he was appointed an officer of the colony of Connecticut. Jonathan, whose father was a Justice of the Peace, received a fair education and then studied medicine in the office of a colonial physician. Before long, however, he decided upon a career of greater activity and of more adventure than that of medicine, and in the year 1755 he was serving as an ensign in a Connecticut regiment raised for the war against Canada. Later he became lieutenant in Colonel Oliver Partridge's Massachusetts battalion. It was at Fort William Henry that the most thrilling adventure of his life occurred. Joining, as a volunteer, the body of 1,500 troops sent from Fort Edward to strengthen the garrison of Fort William Henry against Montcalm's expected attack, his fate was involved with that of the garrison when Colonel Monro capitulated to the French. Montcalm's failure to protect the garrison jeopardized Carver's life several times before he finally escaped. The British troops, carrying their arms, but deprived of ammunition, were formed in readiness to march away when the French Indians, first slaying the wounded and the helpless ones

not in line, fell upon the main body. More butchery followed. Carver himself relates how the Indians robbed him of the clothes which he wore and the money which he carried upon his person. He ran to a French sentinel for protection, but that soldier called him "an English dog" and thrust him back among the Indians. One Indian grazed his side with a spear and another wounded him in the ankle. Carver, upsetting some Indians and dodging others, seemed on the point of escaping when two very stout chiefs of "the most savage tribes," perhaps some of Langlade's followers, seized him. They were about to end his life when their attention was distracted from him to an officer in scarlet uniform, who died bravely fighting against them for his life. A boy twelve years old whom Carver sought to protect was slain almost at his feet. Carver states that he fled through a body of British troops, dashed through more Indians and finally gained the woods. After three days of suffering from hardship and hunger, he reached Fort Edward.

Carver fought under Wolfe in the battle on the Heights of Abraham which virtually ended French sovereignty in North America and he likewise took part in the capture of Montreal by General Amherst. He won the rank of captain in 1760.

In June, 1766, only two years after Pontiac's great uprising against the British had been crushed, Captain Carver says that he set out from Boston with the determination to push West even to the Pacific Ocean. It was a tremendous undertaking, and full of danger, for the



Capt. JONATHAN CARVER.

From the Original Picture in the possession of H. Williams, M. D.

Published by the Author, at the Office of the American Traveller, No. 10, N. York Street, N. York.

vast wilderness which he would have to traverse was peopled by savage tribes, many of them hostile to the British. The westernmost British post was at Mackinac, which Carver reached by way of Albany and Niagara. In the belief that he could best accomplish his purposes by assuming the role of a trader, he obtained from Col. Rogers, commanding at Mackinac, a letter of credit upon the traders at Prairie du Chien, which even at that time, by reason of its being at the point where the Wisconsin River enters the Mississippi River, had attained some importance as a trading center. Leaving Mackinac on the 3rd of September, he reached Green Bay fifteen days later, his companions being French and English traders bound for Prairie du Chien. Carver's written observations of his travels are of peculiar interest to Wisconsin people. The fort at Green Bay had fallen into a state of dilapidation since Lieutenant Gorrell had abandoned it three years before. "A few families live in the fort," writes Carver, "and a few opposite to it, some French settlers, who cultivate the land and appear to live very comfortably." Small as it was, it was the only real settlement of white people in what is now the State of Wisconsin.

On Lake Winnebago the traveler found a large town of Winnebago. The site was Doty Island and about fifty houses were enclosed within palisades. These Indians, the traveler relates, raised bountiful crops of tobacco, corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes and melons.

The Winnebago town was ruled by a woman, "Glory of the Morning," the widow of a Frenchman named

De Kaury, who received a death-wound before Quebec in 1760. Her hospitality won warm praise from Carver, who spent four days as her guest.

"She was a very ancient woman," writes Captain Carver regarding his hostess, "small in stature, but not much distinguished in her dress from several young women that attended her." He added that her attendants seemed greatly pleased whenever he "showed her any attention, particularly when I saluted her, which I frequently did to acquire her favor. On these occasions the good lady endeavored to assume a juvenile gaiety, and by her smiles showed that she was equally pleased with the attention I paid her."

The abundance of game amazed him. "This river (the Fox)," he writes, "is the greatest resort of wild fowl of every kind that I met during the whole course of my travels. Frequently the sun would be obscured by them for some minutes together." Wild rice abounded in the river and it attracted ducks, geese and other wild fowl in myriads.

Reaching the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, the expedition stopped at the great town of the Saukies, or Sauk in the immediate neighborhood of what is now Prairie du Sac. Carver's description of this Indian village has been termed exaggerated, and perhaps it is so, in the way characteristic of most travelers, but what he says is interesting. He writes: "This is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several travelers. They are built of hewn plank, neatly joined,

and covered with bark so completely as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smoke their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious, so that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, etc., so that this place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight miles of it."

The Sauk, Captain Carver says, can muster three hundred warriors, who every summer raid the Illinois and Pawnee territories to the south, where they capture slaves. But the nations which they attack often retaliate, Carver adds, and the Sauk suffer in turn.

Three days after leaving the village of these Indians, Carver reached a town occupied by their ancient allies, the Foxes. This town, which is supposed to have been near Muscoda, contained about fifty houses, but it was almost deserted, the Foxes having sought refuge in the woods from a contagion that had carried off many of their number.

On the 15th of October Carver reached Prairie du Chien, which was a notable Indian village. This is how he describes it: "It is a large town and contains about three hundred families. The houses are well built, after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a very rich soil, from which they raise every necessary of life

in great abundance. I saw many horses here of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them furs to dispose of to the traders."

It is interesting to learn that the horses of which Carver speaks, the first animals of their kind brought to Wisconsin, came from the Indians of the Lower Mississippi River, who, in turn, had obtained them by trade, sometimes probably by theft, from the Spaniards. The French, compelled to follow intricate water courses to reach the Northwest, had never brought horses with them.

The traders who had come with him from Green Bay decided to spend the winter at Prairie du Chien, but Carver, with a French voyageur and a Mohawk Indian, says that he ascended the Mississippi, in a canoe, as far as Lake Pepin, which they reached on the 1st of November. He writes enthusiastically of the beauty of the scenery of that region, of the fertility of the soil and of the abundance of wild fruit and of fish and game. On the surrounding plains, he adds, were "the largest buffaloes of any in America."

In behalf of Carver it is claimed that he was the first traveler to call attention to the famous Indian mounds of the Mississippi Valley. The following description, contained in the book which bears his name, is the basis of this claim: "One day, having landed on the shore of the Mississippi some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst

my attendants were preparing their dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far when I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance a partial elevation that had the appearance of an entrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding, it is now covered with grass, I could plainly discern that it had once been a breastwork of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently spacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flank reached to the river. Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive that there certainly had been one. From its situation also I am convinced that it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable distance that commanded it. A few straggling oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracts were worn across it by the feet of elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity."

During the winter, Carver asserts took up his abode among the Sioux and explored a considerable part of Minnesota. The Indians told him not only of the "shin-

ing mountains," full of precious ores, but they mentioned the Oregon River (the Columbia), emptying into the Pacific Ocean. According to his own account, he ascended the Mississippi as far as the River St. Francis, and then, descending that stream, he returned to the mouth of the Minnesota, which he ascended for a distance of two hundred miles, the terminus of this journey being the small tributary that still bears his name.

In April he left the villages of these Sioux of the plains, but three hundred of them accompanied him to the site of St. Paul, their object being to visit a great cave which they called Wakon-teebe, meaning the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. In this cave, where the bones of their ancestors were deposited, the Sioux were wont to hold a council every spring. To the Indians, assembled in this queer council chamber, Carver delivered an address which was bombastic enough—purposely so—to please even an Indian's idea of eloquence. His aim was to attach them to the British cause.

In an edition of Carver's travels published in London in 1781, after his death, Dr. John Coaklet Lettsom, the editor, mentions an Indian grant to Carver of an immense tract of land lying east of the Mississippi River. The deed bears the totem signs of Indian chiefs, their usual mode of signing any document. In his Territorial History of Wisconsin, Moses M. Strong says that the description in the deed covers fourteen thousand square miles, that the south line of Clark County would be its southern boundary, the south line of Douglas County its northern boundary, and that its eastern

line would be between Ranges Three and Four East. The grant would include the counties of Pepin, Pierce, St. Croix, Barron, Dunn, Eau Claire, Clark, Chippewa, Washburn, Sawyer, Price and Taylor, with parts of Buffalo, Trempealeau, Jackson, Wood, Marathon, Lincoln, Burnett, Polk and Ashland counties, together with a generous part of Minnesota.

Three times during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, attempts were made by persons claiming to be Carver's heirs to induce the Congress of the United States to ratify the grant in question. All met with failure. The principal reasons that contributed to the defeat of the claim were the facts that at the time when the deed is said to have been made, private persons were prohibited from acquiring Indian lands; that the original deed was not duly witnessed and had been lost anyhow; that it was admitted to be in Carver's writing, which the Indians, of course, could not have understood, so that they might have signed it in ignorance of its purport; that the Sioux of the plains never owned land on the east side of the Mississippi, and that the turtle, one of the signatures to the deed, was not known among the totems of the Sioux. Last, but not least, the failure of the British government, which he had served, to ratify the grant militated materially against the American government's yielding so vast a territory. Nevertheless, the legend, "Carver's Tract," appeared upon maps of the United States for almost a half a century, and deeds by which, under the grant, it was attempted

to convey title to various tracts of land are on file in Western Wisconsin counties.

Deterred from carrying out his project of going overland to the Pacific Ocean, his failure to get trading supplies making the issue of such an expedition doubtful, Carver records that he returned to Mackinac by way of the Chippewa River and Lake Superior. He reported the existence of copper on the headwaters of the St. Croix River. He visited Grand Portage, where he met a large party of Crees and Assinaboines, and then he skirted the north and east shores of Lake Superior. He arrived at Mackinac in November, 1767, and by the following October he was in Boston. Thence he went to London, where financial misfortunes overtook him. While his first wife, with a large family, was still living in America, Carver married an English woman. By her he had two children. He was not able to support his family properly not even able to supply them with the necessaries of life, and finally, in 1780, in London, he actually died of starvation.

Carver's venturesome voyage to the wilds of the Northwest was without material results. There is some good reason to doubt the story of his adventures in the Northwest; there is even ground to suspect that he ever visited Wisconsin. But there is the quality of a seer in this passage from the book whose author he is said to be:

"As the seat of empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressing toward the West, there is no doubt but that at some future period mighty king-

doms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples with gilded spires reaching to the skies, supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies."

There is a melancholy interest in the fact that Carver's Cave, near St. Paul, in which he addressed the Sioux of the plain so many years ago, has long been destroyed by reason of the construction of railroad tracks. It is a most interesting fact that it was from Carver's book that Schiller obtained the idea of his "Death Song of a Naudowessie Chief."

The conquest of Canada opened an inviting field to lovers of adventure and seekers of fortunes, some of them of British birth, more of them born in the colonies. Most noteworthy among the early comers of this class was Alexander Henry, a native of New Jersey. During the war with France, he had been a trader among the British soliders, his headquarters being at Albany. Starting West with his followers and a trading outfit, after the war, he reached Mackinac during the summer of 1761. His terrible experiences at Mackinac, when the post was captured by the allies of Pontiac, have been described in the first volume of this history. Unable to return to the English settlements, unable to do any trading because of the loss of his supplies and the hostility of the Indians, he remained for a while in the region of Mackinac, with occasional excursions to Sault Ste. Marie and lower Lake Michigan. In June, 1764, he finally reached Niagara. General

Bradstreet, who was preparing to embark at that point with three thousand troops, in order to raise the siege of Detroit, induced Henry to accompany him and gave him the command of an Indian battalion of ninety-six men. All except ten of these deserted as soon as the expedition started and the others quit without ceremony, when General Bradstreet subjected them to military discipline after they had become riotously drunk. Their services were not really needed, however, as peace soon followed the arrival of the British army at Detroit. Henry at once took steps to engage in the fur trade on an extensive scale. Owing to the survival of some of the French restrictions of the fur trade, nobody could go into the region northwest of Detroit without a license, but from the commandant at Mackinac, Henry obtained the exclusive right to carry on the fur trade in the Lake Superior country. At Detroit he purchased goods which filled four large canoes, he undertaking to pay for the goods, at the end of the year, with ten thousand pounds of beaver skins. He bought fifty bushels of corn by agreeing to pay for it at the rate of ten pounds of beaver skins a bushel. Beaver was as current money in those days. Accounts were kept upon the basis of the value of beaver skins, other pelts not being accepted until reduced to their value in this standard fur. Beaver skins were valued at two shillings and sixpence a pound, otter skins at six shillings each and marten at one shilling and sixpence.

Determining to make his headquarters at Chequamegon Bay, Henry left Mackinac on the fourteenth of

July, 1765, with twelve men. At Sault Ste. Marie, where he stopped for a few days, he took into partnership Jean Baptiste Cadotte, one of the most noted of the French fur traders of his day. The name of Cadotte is inseparably connected with the early history of Chequamegon Bay and of Northern Wisconsin as well. Jean Baptiste was a son of a man named Cadeau, who is said to have been one of St. Luson's followers when that officer, in 1671, at Sault Ste. Marie, took possession of the Northwest in the name of the King of France. Jean Baptiste was legally married to a Chippewa woman, by whom he had two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, both of whom took Chippewa women as wives.

Michel, early in the nineteenth century, took up his abode on Madelaine Island, really founding the settlement which still exists on that island. He cultivated a small farm and for a while was the agent of the Northwest Company and afterward of the American Fur Company, controlled by Astor. He had been educated at Montreal and to that city he sent his own sons to be educated. Schoolcraft speaks of Cadotte's establishment on Madelaine Island, "a dwelling of logs, stockaded in the usual manner of trading houses, besides several outbuildings, and some land in cultivation." Schoolcraft mentions the interesting fact that Cadotte had "several cows and horses, which had been transported at great labor." Michel had another trading post at Lac Courte Oreille. During the war of 1812, Cadotte, like most of the men of his blood, supported the cause of the British. He was present at the capture

of Mackinac. He died on Madelaine Island, July 8th, 1837, at the age of seventy-two years. His grave has long been one of the objects of interest on the island.

Henry, with Jean Baptiste Cadotte, the elder, left Sault Ste. Marie, July 26th, 1765. More than three weeks later they reached the mouth of the Ontonagon Rivers, in whose waters Henry found an abundance of sturgeon. In that neighborhood much virgin copper seemed to exist, as Indians showed to Henry masses of the metal, one of which weighed twenty pounds. The savages, he says, beat it into spoons and bracelets.

At Chequamegon Bay Henry found an Indian settlement of fifty lodges. These, with the Indians who had come with him, made a hundred families. Unlike their forbears, who cultivated the soil and depended upon the fruits of the chase for a livelihood, these Indians had long been dependent upon the traffic in furs to supply many of their necessities, and the British invasion of Canada, followed as it was by Pontiac's war, had, by cutting off the demand for furs, reduced them to destitution. They were almost naked when Henry reached them and he was compelled by their condition to furnish them, upon credit, goods valued at three thousand beaverskins. Henry built a comfortable house at Chequamegon Bay and in it he spent the winter.

This house "stood in the bay, was sheltered by an island of fifteen miles in length, and between which and the main the channel is four miles wide." As soon as the rude building was completed, he and his men, to guard against starvation, caught two thousand trout and

white fish. The trout would often weigh fifty pounds each and the white fish from four to six pounds. "We preserve them," Henry writes, "by suspending them by the tail in the open air. These, without bread or salt, were our food through all the winter, the men being free to consume what quantity they pleased, and boiling or roasting them whenever they thought proper." The Bay became entirely frozen over on December 15th, Henry records, and he indulged in the amusement of spearing fish through the ice. He sometimes caught a hundred fish, averaging twenty pounds each, in a single day. They were mostly trout. Henry thus describes the manner of catching them: "In order to spear trout under the ice, holes being first cut, of two yards in circumference, cabins of about two feet in height, are built over them, of small branches of trees, and these are further covered with skins, so as to wholly exclude the light. The design and result of this contrivance is, to render it practicable to discern objects in the water, at a very considerable depth; for the reflection of light from the water gives that element an opaque appearance, and hides all objects from the eye, at a small distance beneath its surface. A spear-head of iron is fastened on a pole, of about ten feet in length. This instrument is lowered into the water, and the fisherman, lying upon his belly, with his head under the cabin or cover, and therefore over the hole, lets down the figure of a fish, in wood, and filled with lead. Round the middle of the fish, is tied a small packthread; and, when at a depth of ten fathom, where it is intended to

be employed, it is made, by drawing the string, and by the simultaneous pressure of the water, to move forward, after the manner of a real fish. Trout and other large fish, deceived by its resemblance, spring toward it, to sieze it; but, by a dexterous jerk of the string, it is instantly taken out of their reach. The decoy is now drawn nearer to the surface, and the fish takes some time to renew the attack, during which the spear is raised, and held conveniently for striking. On the return of the fish, the spear is plunged into its back; and, the spear being barbed, it is easily drawn out of the water. So completely do the rays of the light pervade the element, that in three fathom water, I have often seen the shadows of the fish, on the bottom, following as they moved; and this, when the ice itself was two feet in thickness."

The first party of Indian hunters that offered furs to Henry demanded rum from him and threatened to pilage his stores if he did not grant their demand. Henry, whose men deserted him as soon as they saw that the savages intended to make trouble, stopped the tumult by threatening to shoot the first man that tried to steal any of his goods.

The ice broke up on the 20th of April and soon Indians began to visit his camp in large numbers. Furs piled upon him. He readily disposed of all his goods and found himself in possession of a hundred and fifty packs of beaver skins, each pack weighing a hundred pounds, and twenty-five packs of otter and marten skins. In the company of fifty canoe loads of Indians, who had

a hundred packs of beaver which he had been unable to buy because his stock of goods had become exhausted, he embarked for Mackinac. On the way he encamped a second time at the mouth of the Ontonagon River and he records that ten miles up that stream, whither he went with some Indian guides, he saw a mass of pure copper weighing at least five tons. He formed the opinion that it had fallen from the side of the high hill just back of it. The copper was so "pure and malleable," he declares, that with an axe he cut off a chunk weighing about a hundred pounds.

Henry spent the following winter at Sault Ste. Marie and during the next two winters his headquarters were at Michipicoten, on the north shore of Lake Superior.

In 1770 Alexander Baxter, whom Henry had previously met at Mackinac, returned from England with papers which designated Henry, a trader named Bostwick and himself joint agents and partners for a company formed to discover and to develop mines in the region of Lake Superior. The partners in England were the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townsend, Sir Samuel Tutchet, Mr. Baxter, consul of the Empress of Russia, and, in America, Sir William Johnson. During the winter of 1770-1 Henry and his immediate associates built at Point aux Pins, near Sault Ste. Marie, a barge suitable for the navigation of Lake Superior and he laid the keel of a sloop of forty tons. After some superficial prospecting not far above the Sault, they coasted westward to the Ontonagon River, where, on the hill mentioned in connection with the large mass of

copper which Henry had found a few years previously, they put a party of miners at work. The following June these miners returned to the Sault with the news that during the winter they had penetrated into the hill for a distance of forty feet, but that when the thaw came, the clay, which they had neglected to support with timbers, had fallen in. No more exploratory work was done at that point, and after another unsuccessful effort to find ore on the north shore of Lake Superior, the company's agents sold its property, including the sloop, paid its debts and ended its existence. The charter obtained for it was never taken out of the seal-office in London.

Henry was a shrewd man of business, and during his connection with the mining company had not neglected his own fur trade. Now he determined to enlarge his operations with the Indians. In June, 1775, he and Cadotte left upon a hazardous expedition to the Far Northwest. By way of Grand Portage, Rat Portage, the Lake of the Woods and the Winnipeg and Saskatchewan Rivers, they penetrated to the Saskatchewan Valley, northwest of Manitoba. In October, 1776, they returned to Montreal with many thousand beaverskins. Henry died at Montreal in 1824, at the age of 84 years.

CHAPTER III
BRITISH AND AMERICAN FUR TRADE

AFTER the conquest of Canada, the British, by reason of their policy toward the Indians, whose hunting grounds their policy sought to preserve intact, succeeded for a short time to the French influence over the savage nations that had been friendly to the French. At Green Bay the Langlade and a few other families engaged in the fur trade and in 1765 Alexander Henry opened a trading post at Chequamegon Bay. Some Scotch merchants, employing French voyageurs, exploited the region of the Upper Lakes, Mackinac being their base of operations.

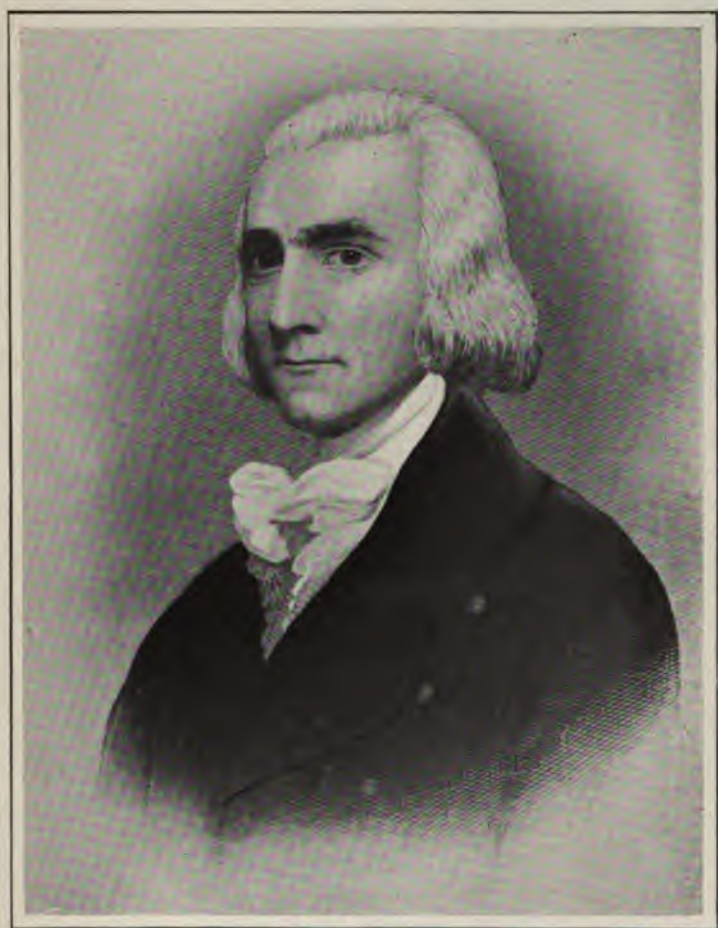
In 1783 several of the leading merchants of Montreal formed a partnership to carry on traffic in furs. Four years later they united with rivals in trade and in this way the famous North-West Company came into being. It established posts at Detroit, Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. Grand Portage, just above the mouth of Pigeon River, on the north shore of Lake Superior, near one of Du Luth's old posts, became the principal center of its trade. From this point its agents penetrated far to the westward, even to the Pacific Ocean. The North-West Company attained large proportions. At one time its traffic required the services of two thousand men, including 1820 canoe men. Often a thousand men would be gathered at Grand Portage, the general rendezvous. After the merging of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, Fort William succeeded to the glory of Grand Portage. More than a hundred thousand beaver skins were sent down to Mon-

treau every year. The members of the Company, those from Montreal as well as those from the company's widely scattered posts, together with their chief agents, were wont to gather at Fort William, at stated times. Upon such occasions feasting and drinking were in order. In the rude banquet hall fish and venison, together with such frontier luxuries as bread, vegetables and butter, were served in profusion, while to wine and brandy there was no limit.

At first the goods used in trade, brought from England to Montreal, were sent to the Upper Lakes in bark canoes—craft about forty feet long, three feet deep and five feet wide—by way of the Ottawa River route, the pioneer highway to the Northwest, but toward the end of the century sailing vessels on the lakes resulted in a partial change of route. This was from Montreal to Kingston in boats; thence to Niagara in vessels; thence overland to Lake Erie, and thence in vessels to Mackinac. Goods destined for Lake Superior were transferred to Lake Superior boats at Sault Ste. Marie.

The Mackinaw Company was formed later by a number of British merchants. Its headquarters were at Mackinac and its trade was carried on to the south of the North-West Company's field of operations. By way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, its goods were sent down the Mississippi and up many of the tributaries of that stream.

In competing with American traders, the British, as a rule, pursued a policy similar to that which during the



JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

previous century had given them an advantage over the French. This was to sell goods of superior quality at reasonable prices. One of the greatest difficulties that John Jacob Astor encountered was in buying in England blankets and cloths that would permit his traders to compete on an equality with those in the employ of British capital. The North-West Fur Company seemed to have much influence over the manufacturers of goods used in Indian trade, and they took advantage of the situation. For instance, there was a gun, strong and simple in construction, called the North West gun, which the Indians knew to be a reliable fire-arm, and for some time Astor was at a disadvantage because he could not get it or anything like it. The Indians quickly detected the difference between the North West gun and an imitation of it which was manufactured in Holland for Astor's trade.

With the two-fold object of preventing the British traders from getting extortionate prices from the Indians and from acquiring a detrimental influence over them, the Congress, previous to the war of 1812, directed the establishment of factories for trade with the savages. One of these government factories was established at Prairie du Chien prior to 1816, when a man named John W. Johnson was in charge of it. Another was placed at Green Bay, under charge of Major Matthew Irwin. By engaging in trade, however, the government lost prestige in the eyes of the Indian, and, in addition, the goods which it supplied were very inferior in quality. Its blankets were thin,

and its calicoes and other cloths were in marked contrast with similar goods that the Indians could get from the British traders. The government's experiment was a failure in every way and after a few years the factories were discontinued.

Interesting light upon the government's factory system is shed by letters written by Major Irwin during the period that he was factor at Green Bay. He assumed the position in 1816, and retired from it in 1821. Early in 1817 he reported to Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, the superintendent of Indian trade, that the Indian agents, although they were salaried officers, exacted from all traders, whether British or American, fifty dollars for every annual license that they issued. A few months later, when Major Irwin had arranged to supply three American citizens with goods for the wants of the Indians at Menominee River, as well as those at the Wisconsin River and at Lake Winnebago, he discovered that the American Indian agent at Mackinac had granted licenses to British subjects to trade in those localities. Then came the announcement that John Jacob Astor had purchased the whole interests of the Southwest Company. The Secretary of War requested that every facility be given to the Astor interests and to this end the Indian agent at Mackinac was told to issue licenses to every one of Astor's men, whether they were British or American subjects. These methods all tended to destroy the usefulness of the government's factory system. To permit the Indian agents to issue licenses, particularly when some of them invaded other

districts, was certainly hurtful to it. The Indian agent at Mackinac, for instance, not only issued licenses to trade in Wisconsin, but even to carry on traffic along the Upper Mississippi. Major Irwin requested that no more goods be sent to him until steps were taken to correct these abuses. In several letters he declared that Astor's company was essentially British, that his managers and most of his traders were British, and that the American government was helping Astor to the detriment of its own interest. Some of the British traders, he wrote, tried to prevent the Indians from trading at the government factories by selling goods to them at first cost.

Then, too, whiskey was in demand among the Indians and by secretly supplying this to the savages, the government's rivals in trade maintained much influence over them. Finally, in 1821, Colonel McKenney decided that the factories at Chicago and Green Bay were useless to the Indians and to the government and hence he recommended to his superiors that both of them be closed and abandoned, and the goods which they contained be sent to a new factory to be opened at what became Fort Snelling.

The most extensive enterprise in fur traffic ever conceived and carried out by an American was that in which John Jacob Astor engaged in 1809. The American Fur Company, which he controlled, was chartered by the State of New York. His plans included a post at the mouth of the Columbia River, on the Pacific Coast, and a chain of posts linking that faraway point with

Mackinac, by way of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In 1810 he sent his ill-fated expeditions to the Pacific. One went by way of Cape Horn. The other, commanded by William Price Hunt, a native of New Jersey, and Ramsey Crooks, started from Mackinac upon a memorable journey up Green Bay and the Fox River, down the Wisconsin and the Mississippi, up the Missouri and across the Rocky Mountains. The expedition was most hazardous. Danger, even death, from savage foes, lurked in almost every turn of the streams which they traveled, and severe hardships were inevitable, particularly in crossing the Great Divide. The magnitude of the conception and the courage with which Astor's men endeavored to carry out his project merited success. Instead the enterprise met with failure. The war of 1812 came and emissaries of the North-West Company captured the post at Astoria.

Meanwhile Astor, in company with several members of the North-West Company, had bought out the Mackinaw Company, at that time the chief rival of the North-West Company. Astor's interests in the Mackinaw Company was a half and it was understood that at the end of five years, on condition that he should not trade in British territory, he was to be the sole owner of it. He called this new enterprise the Southwest Company. The War of 1812 upset all his arrangements, and in 1815 the affairs of the Southwest Company were closed up. Mr. Astor then engaged in the fur trade on a more extensive scale. He reorganized the American Fur Company, and Crooks went to Mack-



RAMSEY CROOKS.

John Jacob Astor's chief lieutenant in Wisconsin, and leader of the famous expedition which founded Astoria, Oregon. He came to Wisconsin in 1806.



BAD AX BATTLEFIELD.

inac as his agent. In the Spring of 1816, for the first time, goods were imported to Mackinac by way of New York. Montreal had been the source of supply in former years. Astor sent his traders to Lake Superior, to the Mississippi, up the St. Peter's River and up the Missouri. The boats for the Mississippi and Missouri trade all took the Fox-Wisconsin route. Many of these traders would winter in the Mississippi Valley and it was their custom to hold a reunion at Prairie du Chien each Spring. Elaborate indeed, in a savage sort of way, were the dinners to which they sat down, and gallons and gallons of wine were drunk during the time that they held wassail.

Mackinac was the center of Astor's fur trade and the place where his agents resided. In 1816 two hundred and forty of Astor's trading boats were fitted out at Mackinac. Each boat contained two traders and from four to six other men. Before that year, all his traders had been Frenchmen, but the Congress had forbidden the employment of any except citizens in that capacity, and so scores of young clerks from the East were sent out to take the places of the seasoned traders of the years before. The old traders were sent with them, ostensibly as voyageurs. It was found, however, that the trade could not be carried on to advantage without the aid of the Canadians. They had had years of experience and in the Summer of 1816 the Indian agents received orders from the Secretary of the Treasury to license foreigners as interpreters and as boatmen providing that they gave bond for good behavior while

in the Indian country. British traders evaded the law by hiring an American in whose name the goods were invoiced and the license taken out. Once beyond reach of the authorities, the British or French traders ceased to be boatmen and instead assumed command of the trading.

The French Canadians employed by the traders as boatmen lived upon soup made of hulled corn and seasoned with tallow. Frugal fare indeed, but not a great change from the pea soup and the coarse bread of the Canadian peasant when at home. These men were originally engaged in Montreal and until they became seasoned, they were called *mangeurs de lard*, "pork eaters," because between Mackinac and Montreal they were fed on pork, hard bread and pea soup. Corn soup became their regular diet as soon as they embarked upon a trading expedition. Their wages were as meagre as their fare. In 1816, the usual sum paid annually to a boatman was equal to \$83.33 of American money. The expense of transporting them from Montreal was considerable, and the trader did not like to lose them. They were engaged as a rule for five years. As some of them were prone to desert their employers, but as they could not leave the country so long as they owed money to any trader, each trader encouraged his men to get into debt to him. No trader would hire a man who was in debt to another trader, nor could the man return to Montreal in any of the boats or canoes engaged in bringing goods from Montreal to Mackinac. After five years of scant fare, privation, hardship and exacting

service, a boatman would often be in debt to his employer all the way from \$50 to \$150. He was thus compelled to remain in the employ of his creditor, sometimes for years.

Traders furnished to each of their men every year an outfit consisting of two cotton shirts, a triangular blanket, one pair of cowhide shoes and a stout collar for use in carrying goods over a portage. The boatman had to buy moccasins, tobacco and similar articles. Their engagements required them to remain on duty day and night, else their wages would become forfeit; to guard safely the property entrusted to their care and in all cases to sink their own interests into those of their employers. An employer, on the other hand, would charge the whole crew a high price for anything that might be stolen from the outfit. If an ordinary article, something not indispensable, were left ashore, the trader would not return for it, but would simply charge the whole crew for its loss. Notwithstanding, the boatmen were loyal, as a rule, and one crew would strive hard to travel faster in a day than some other crew. They prided themselves upon their own ability to subsist upon a small amount of food and even upon how many days they could travel without any food whatever. Their respect for the trader was deep and he had little trouble in ruling them.

The principal part of a trader's outfit consisted of coarse colored cloths and blankets. Cheap jewelry, especially ear lobes, ribbons, garters, handkerchiefs, small bells, jewsharps, scissors, mirrors, combs, knives,

scalping knives, vermilion paint, kettles, hoes, guns and ammunition were the other chief articles used in traffic with the savages. Whisky was a strong attraction for the Indians who had furs to sell and every trader, except those employed for a few years by the government, made it a point to keep a supply of it on hand. It was generously diluted with water before the Indians received it.

Accounts with the traders were kept in a systematic manner. Every article sold was duly set forth and credits were entered just as carefully. After the American Fur Company had entered the field, its traders were assigned to particular localities, so that there was little competition between them. Independent traders, to be sure, interfered somewhat with this plan, but not to the extent that might be expected. Occasionally a trader might acquire a competence, but the bulk of the profits went to Astor. He charged the traders high prices for goods which he sold to them, while he bought furs from them at favorable prices, and in turn sold them at a material advance. His sales to traders, for instance, were made upon the basis of an increase of 33 1-3 per cent. over the original cost combined with the expense of importation and transportation to Mackinac.

A striking fact in connection with the fur trade is the gradual manner in which the method of distribution changed. During the middle of the Seventeenth Century the Indians took their furs to Montreal and Quebec. Then French traders began to carry goods into the Indian country, and later still government posts

were established at important points for the sole purpose of fostering the traffic. Next traders began to make journeys inland each Autumn, with a view to catching the savages before they started upon their Winter hunts. Clothing and trinkets for the families of the hunters and guns and ammunition for the hunters themselves would be supplied upon credit, the understanding being that payment should be made the following Spring with the proceeds of the winter's hunt. The goods thus supplied to an individual usually amounted to between \$40 and \$50, at cost prices, and to pay for them the Indian would have to turn over furs worth about 100 per cent more. Many of the trader's customers might neglect to "settle up" in the Spring, as many of them did, and yet the trader would have a balance on the right side of his ledger. In later years "jack knife" posts were opened at most of the Indian hamlets.

One of the features of the development of the trade during the latter part of the Eighteenth Century was the increasing use of the Mackinac sail-boat on the lakes. This boat, still generally used at points along the Great Lakes, especially at Green Bay, Mackinac and Chequamegon Bay, is a small vessel pointed at both ends and of unusual width. It is highly esteemed as a safe, reliable craft.

Another kind of boat that came into general use in the fur trade, was the bateau—a long, high, narrow craft, which did not capsize easily even in "running rapids." It was afterward adopted by lumbermen for

use in connection with the driving of logs and it is still to be seen occasionally in the northern part of the State. It was formerly called a "Mackinac boat.."

Among the early fur traders are some of the most interesting and picturesque figures in the history of Wisconsin. Prominent among the French traders at Green Bay were the Grignon brothers—Pierre, Augustin, Amable, Charles and Perrish. They were grandsons of Charles Langlade, to whose estate they were heirs. Pierre was the eldest brother and the head of the family. He was courteous and open hearted, and commanded general respect. Louis Grignon, whose house was located one and a half miles above Fort Howard, on the east side of the Fox River, where he had a warehouse, was a man of liberal views and promoted the cause of education at the Bay. He held liberal views and promoted the cause of education at the Bay. He died August 14th, 1839. Augustin Grignon resided at Grand Kakalin. He traded extensively with the Indians and possessed great influence among them. Afterward, leaving his sons in charge of the post at Grand Kakalin, he removed to Grand Butte des Morts, where he built up a large trade in furs. He died in 1860 at the age of eighty years. Amable Grignon, who afterward established a post on the Wisconsin River, about fifteen miles below Grand Rapids, entered into an agreement in 1819 which illustrates the kind of life led by the hardy adventurers of those days. The agreement was with the Hudson's Bay Company and it was ex-



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AUGUSTIN GRIGNON.

ecuted at Great Slave Lake, where the company had a post. This contract reads as follows:

"I, Amable Grignon of the Parish of Green Bay, Upper Canada, now residing in the territories of the Hudson Bay Company, do hereby covenant and agree to and with the Hudson's Bay Company to serve them in the capacity of a clerk for the term of one year, commencing with the expiration of my last contract in May, 1819, after the rate of two thousand livres or shillings of the province of Lower Canada, with the usual equipment given to clerks, and found in tobacco and shoes and two dogs and harness, but the dogs to return to the Hudson Bay Company after the expiration of this contract (if the dogs are alive at that time), and in consideration of which I bind and oblige myself to do everything for the said Company and their representatives, that I may be ordered to do that may appear to me to be necessary or expedient, and during the said term I will not upon any pretense whatever carry on any trade with the servants of the company, or Indians, separate and apart from the interest of said Company, and if I, Amable Grignon, should make any breach or default of this agreement, it shall in that case be in the opinion [power] of the said Company to discharge me, the said Amable Grignon, from the present agreement without being liable to any damages therefor."

Amable spent the year 1819 at Athabasca and the following year at Great Slave Lake. His experience and ability won recognition from his superiors. He was

one of not a few Frenchmen of Wisconsin who saw service in the Far North.

Jacques Porlier, another Green Bay trader, was a man of aristocratic blood and broad education. He was born at Montreal in 1765 and settled at Green Bay in 1791. He died at the Bay in 1839. He was held in high esteem.

None of the Green Bay traders attained higher rank or influence than John Lawe. He was born in York, England, the son of a British army officer and of a sister of Jacob Franks, a Jew who went to the Bay as a clerk in 1792. Five years later Franks engaged in trade on his own account, at the Bay, whither he brought his nephew from Canada. Lawe succeeded his uncle in business when the latter returned to Canada to live. He represented the American Fur Company at the Bay and was noted for his fair dealing with the Indians, as well as for his charity. He died at Green Bay, February 11th, 1846, at the age of sixty-six.

Robert Irwin, Jr., who was a native of Pennsylvania, settled at Green Bay in 1820. He was joined in 1823 by his brother, Alexander. They engaged in business, as partners, at Shantytown, and enjoyed a large trade. Robert died July 9th, 1833, at Fort Winnebago, where he was serving as Indian agent. Alexander died June 14th, 1847. Each filled various offices of public trust.

Jean Baptiste Faribault established himself in the Indian trade at Prairie du Chien at an early period and engaged in farming on a small scale, but about 1819 he removed to the St. Peter's River, in Minnesota. In

1822 he was one of the members of the Columbia Fur Company, which operated in that region. He had traded with the Indians as early as 1805 opposite Mendota, Minnesota.

Joseph Rolette, a trader at Prairie du Chien, was a Canadian by birth. His parents intended that he should become a priest. He did not like that calling, however, and he abandoned it after he had received an unusually good education. He settled at Prairie du Chien in 1804, having become connected in business with Murdoch Cameron, a sturdy Scotch trader whose operations were mostly in Minnesota. Rolette sometimes wintered at Lake Pepin. It was some years afterward that he became an agent of Astor's company.

James H. Lockwood, a native of Clinton County, New York, was Rolette's principal business rival at the Prairie. Lockwood was born on a farm and had seen not a little of frontier life before he came to Wisconsin. He started the study of law in New York, but soon decided that a mercantile career would be more suitable to him. He arrived at Prairie du Chien in 1816, and soon became a leader in that small community.

Michael Brisbois was another trader located at the Prairie, where he settled late in the Eighteenth Century. In addition to trading with the Indians, he was a miller and a baker.

A noted trader was John T. de la Ronde, a great grandson of the veteran French officer who commanded the post at Chequamegon Bay during the middle of the Eighteenth Century. John was born at Bordeaux,

France, in 1802. He received a college education at Montreal, and began to study medicine, but in 1819 he entered the service of the North-West Company for a term of seven years. He went to London as a witness in the dispute between that company and the Hudson's Bay Company, before the two corporations became one. In 1828, after serving the Hudson's Bay Company for some time, he went to Sault Ste. Marie and thence to the Mississippi River by way of the Fox and the Wisconsin. His object was adventure. He wintered at the St. Croix River and thence returned to Canada. Early in the spring of 1832 he came west, as clerk for the American Fur Company, with 110 men, some destined for Lake Superior and others for Missouri. He spent some time in the vicinity of Baraboo and later established a trading post upon the site of Mauston. He attained a position of considerable influence among the Indians.

Hercules L. Dousman, who managed Astor's trading post at Prairie du Chien for a number of years, is quoted as having once said that if by any accident a gun, a blanket, or any other article sold to an Indian was not up to standard, the policy, regardless of trouble or expense, was to replace it with a perfect article as soon as possible. This was a strict rule within Astor's dealings with the Indians and to it is undoubtedly due much of the success which rewarded his enterprise in the wilderness.

In driving a bargain the Indians generally were able to hold their own against the trader. In this connec-

tion an amusing story in which Joseph Rolette figures is told.

"Oh, Mr. Rolette," a lady is said to have remarked to him; "I would not be engaged in the Indian trade; it seems to me to be a system of cheating the poor Indians."

"Let me tell you, Madame," he replied, with great naiveté, "that it is not so easy to cheat the Indians as you imagine. I have tried it these twenty years, and have never succeeded."

The locations of the trading posts are interesting to the student of the history of those frontier days. The Menominee, whose villages were located chiefly along the Menominee, Oconto and Peshtigo Rivers, were supplied from Green Bay. From Green Bay, likewise, goods were sent to the Winnebago Indians located along the Wisconsin River. Prairie du Chien was the distributing point for the Mississippi, between the Dubuque mines and St. Anthony's Falls, as well as for the Sioux along the lower Black, Chippewa and St. Croix Rivers; and for the Winnebago along the Upper Rock River, at Lake Koshkonong and in the Four Lake region surrounding Madison. Milwaukee was the center of the trade among the Potawatomi, who also had villages at Waukesha, Pewaukee and Mukwonago. The American Fur Company, using Madelaine Island as a base, maintained a large post at Lac du Flambeau, whence Indians along the headwater of the Montreal and Wisconsin Rivers and those among the surrounding lakes could be supplied; and large posts at Lac Court Orielles,

and upon the St. Croix River. Smaller posts, dependent upon these, were established at various points in the surrounding country.

In 1834 there were at least fifty trading posts in Wisconsin. Many of these posts are now large cities. Indian villages were located upon sites that possessed natural advantages, such as a river flowing into a large lake, as at Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Green Bay, Manitowoc, Racine, Prairie du Chien and La Crosse, and such as a river only or a large inland lake. Traders located at these villages in order to make sure of selling their goods. Sometimes the traders located at rapids in a river, like Kaukauna, Black River Falls, St. Croix Falls, so as to attract the Indians while they were "making the portage." However, the large cities which now dot Wisconsin are not the logical outgrowth of Indian villages or of trading posts. The Anglo-Saxon settlers had at least as keen an appreciation of natural advantages as the Indians, and it is doubtful if there is in Wisconsin a city of any size that would not be in existence if the land had been entirely uninhabited when the Anglo-Saxon first came. So with the Indian trail. It became, in large measure, the highway of the settler, but the pioneer wagon road, like the Indian trail, was laid out along the lines of least resistance, the idea being to avoid difficult ground, and in most cases the roads between points that the white men wished to reach would in any event have been identical or parallel with the trails which the savages used. In locating cities and in building roads, in brief, the Indian simply pointed

the way that would have been apparent to the unaided eye and judgment of the level-headed pioneer.

CHAPTER IV
THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

THE original title of the United States to Wisconsin and the whole Northwest, the Old Northwest, rests upon the right of conquest. The territory was won for the Union by the prowess of frontiersmen from Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was British territory when the War of the Revolution began, just as Canada was, but, unlike Canada, it was American territory after the issues of that war had been settled by treaty. It took no part in the movement of the colonies to set up an independent government. It was simply a prize of war—the first tangible development of the American policy of expansion.

Before the French and Indian war, when the French power was feared by Great Britain, her government did not try to prevent the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies from entering the great region lying between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, but with the French out of the way, and with the growing power of the colonists in mind, Great Britain changed her policy. Desirous of keeping the colonists near the Atlantic Coast, where they would be more susceptible to the influence of the mother country, more dependent upon her support, Great Britain, in 1763, by royal proclamation, forbade settlement on lands contiguous to the Ohio River. Two years later another royal proclamation ordered John Penn, lieutenant-governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, to compel the evacuation of the lands settled upon in that region and in the future to enforce strict compliance with the King's commands.

One of the most strenuous advocates of western colonization was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. He had urged the expulsion of the French from the banks of the Ohio on the ground that otherwise there might be built up, in the rear of the English settlements, a strong rival power. After Wolfe's victory he publicly advocated the retention of Canada itself, declaring that only in that way could the English colonies be assured of peace. He sturdily combatted the suggestion that a French Canada was necessary to keep the colonies within the arms of Great Britain. He likewise denied that the mother country would act more wisely by taking the Island of Goudaloupe, instead of Canada, as indemnity for the war.

In 1765 Sir William Johnson, of New York, and other influential men, planned a new colony in the Illinois country. Dr. Franklin, at that time Pennsylvania's agent at London, acquired an interest in the undertaking and used his influence to get the grant of land needed for the proposed colony. For a time it looked as though the land would be granted, but in the end it was withheld. Dr. Franklin's letters to his son show not only why the project failed, but they indicate the reasons that actuated the government in opposing western settlement. The objections urged against the plan were that such a colony, by reason of its distance, would necessitate manufacturing within its borders, which would make it of very little benefit to England; it would, by reason of its distance, be very difficult to

govern and to defend; and it might, by reason of its isolation, become troublesome to the mother country.

Franklin was not discouraged. In 1769 he joined with Thomas Walpole, who was an eminent London banker, Samuel Wharton, Thomas Pownal and others in petitioning for the right to purchase 2,400,000 acres of land south of the Ohio River, the object being to found a new colony. Three years later this petition was granted by the King's Council, but more delay ensued, and by the time that the price of the land and the plan of government had been agreed upon, the Revolution put an end to all efforts at British colonization.

Not less odious to the colonists than the Boston Bay Bill and the Massachusetts Bay Bill was the Quebec Act of the same year, 1774. It made the west a part of Canada, in effect, and the colonists generally were bitter in condemning it. The Continental Congress made the Quebec Act the basis of a charge, that of "abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province (Canada, where the Catholic Church had been confirmed in all its rights, privileges and property, where trial by jury had not been allowed, nor representative government, and where the French system of laws had been retained), establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule in these colonies."

In the Declaration of Independence, King George is arraigned in these words: "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose

obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage emigration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands." The Quebec Act, so far as it related to the West, was nullified, and so was the Walpole grant, by the Revolution. And when, during the subsequent dispute over boundaries, England set up the claim that the Royal Proclamations of 1763 and 1765 limited the United States on the west, the colonial representatives simply replied: "The Quebec Act was one of the causes that brought on the war, and that we are fighting to resist." Nor were the colonists alone in opposing this policy of the English. Edmund Burke, speaking in the House of Commons, March 22nd, 1775, in opposition to the government, said of the intrepid colonial pioneers:

"Already they have topped the Appalachian Mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain, one vast, rich level meadow, a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with the habits of their life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of English Tartars, and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counselors, your collectors and comptrollers, and of all the slaves that adhered to them. Such would, and in no long time must be, the effect of attempting to forbid as a crime, and to suppress as an evil, the command and blessing

of Providence, 'Increase and multiply.' Such would be the happy result of an endeavor to keep as a lair of wild beasts that earth which God by an express charter has given to the children of men."

For some years after the conclusion, in 1774, of the Dunmore war, caused by the westward movement of the colonists, which had irritated the Indians, there was peace in the Ohio Valley. Dunmore had brought the Indians to terms and he gave an impetus to the tendency of the Virginians to colonize the West. Virginia, under royal charter, claimed that her boundaries extended across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. Charters granted to other colonies, neighbors of Virginia, were likewise sweeping in character, and all were so indefinite that just what part of the West any colony could clearly claim was matter of doubt. Virginia asserted jurisdiction over all of extreme Western Pennsylvania, including Fort Pitt and the Monongahela Valley, and many of the settlers expressed a preference for rule by Virginia over the claim which Pennsylvania endeavored to establish. The controversy became so bitter that at one time Virginia and Pennsylvania were on the verge of war. The fact that the Virginians were settlers and the Pennsylvanians were traders, who did not wish to have the Indians disturbed, was another factor in the intercolonial dispute. The settlers from Virginia charged the Pennsylvanian traders with inciting the Indians to slay and steal on the border. The Northwestern Indians realized the spirit which animated the Virginians, whom they called "Long Knives," and their

animosity toward the whites generally was fanned to a flame by the treaty arranged in 1768 at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York), by which the Iroquois, or Six Nation, had ceded to the English crown what is now the State of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River, as well as a large part of Western Virginia and an extensive tract on the western border of the province of Pennsylvania. The Northwestern Indians, less in fear of the Iroquois than they had been in former years, were not ready to admit that the New York savages had any right to cede the territory in question. Upon the Virginian pioneers in the West, who were closest at hand, fell the vengeance of the wild nations of the Northwest. Among the war parties that began to harass the border were even Hurons or Wyandots, who for years had dwelt in Wisconsin and in Michigan. Shawnees, Cherokees and Illinois were likewise hostile. The killing by whites of the family of Logan, an Iroquois chief, who had been friendly to the settlers—a crime which was unjustly blamed upon Captain Michael Cresap, a worthy frontiersman and Revolutionary patriot, increased the hostility between the settlers and the savages. Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, took steps at once to punish the Indians. The men on the border, four hundred strong, kept the savages more or less occupied until the colonial army, divided into two wings of fifteen hundred men each, one commanded by Dunmore himself and the other by General Andrew Lewis, took the field. The battle of Point Pleasant, where Lewis was attacked as he was crossing the Ohio

River, ranks with Bushy Run as one of the most evenly contested engagements in which Indians and white men have ever faced each other. In the end the Indians, who were commanded by the noted chief Cornstalk, were compelled to retreat, but not until the Virginians—for it was Virginians exclusively who took part in the war—had suffered a loss of seventy-five in killed and one hundred and forty in wounded. Near Chillicothe Dunmore made a treaty with the Indians by which they bound themselves not to hunt south of the Ohio River and not to impede travel along that stream. This treaty was made before the Indians had been adequately punished for frightful outrages which they had committed along the border, children being slain and women horribly butchered, and the settlers were angry that peace should be made under such circumstances. Later Dunmore, in order to help the cause of the King, did everything in his power before he hastily left Virginia, to induce the Indians to harass the borders again in every way possible. Previously he had abetted immigration westward despite royal decrees, and he himself had bought two large tracts of land from the Indians in Illinois. The war which bears his name was the result of his western policy, which alarmed and aroused the Indians.

Near the mouth of the Hocking River, on their way home, the officers of Dunmore's army showed their sympathy with the Continental Congress, which was in session in Philadelphia at the time, by adopting resolutions professing devotion to the King, but declaring

that this devotion could last only while he ruled over a free people, for their love of the liberty of America outweighed all other considerations, and when called forth by the voice of their countrymen, they would exert all their power to defend that liberty. These were strong words for officers serving the King to use. They show the spirit that animated the frontiersmen and their friends to the Old Dominion.

Among these patriotic officers was George Rogers Clark, "the Washington of the West," who was destined to do more than any other living man to win the Old Northwest for the Stars and Stripes. A native of Monticello, Virginia, 1752 being the year of his birth, Clark, when only twenty years of age, was practicing the profession of surveying near the mouth of French Creek, on the Upper Ohio River, where he had taken up a claim. In April, 1774, he joined with eighty or ninety other Virginians at the Little Kanawha River to form an expedition to colonize part of Kentucky. The Indian outbreak interfered with this project and Clark joined Dunmore's army, the command of a company being entrusted to him despite his youth. In the spring of 1775 Clark made an exploring tour to Kentucky and was greatly pleased with the land and the promise that it held out to the settler. He returned to Kentucky in 1776, when he took steps to organize the settlers against their savage foes, and again in the summer of 1777, when he found that the Indians were making more trouble than before. This time, after studying the situation, he decided that the most effective place to

defend Kentucky was on the north of the Ohio—in other words, that the best way to fight the enemy was to carry the war into their own country. Through his efforts and by reason of the assistance of Patrick Henry, the governor of Virginia, the Council of that State had already given the Kentuckians five hundred pounds of powder and the legislature had made Kentucky a county of Virginia. Through spies he learned the condition of affairs at the British post of Kaskaskia, on the west bank of the Kaskaskia River, in Illinois, about seven miles from the Mississippi, and the larger establishment at Vincennes, on the Wabash, about one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. It was from these points, as well as from Detroit, that the British sent out war parties of Indians to harass the Kentucky border, and Clark reasoned that if he could expel the British from these posts, it would no longer be difficult to control the Indians. He laid his plan before Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and others, and they warmly approved it. Clark was made a colonel, with authority to enlist seven companies of troops, and supplies for the "defense of Kentucky" were voted to his force. In Virginia he raised three companies and although some of them deserted him after they had reached the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville, enough Kentuckians joined his standard to raise his force to four companies of about fifty men each. The memorable expedition left the Falls, June 24th, 1778. Four days later they landed on an island at the mouth of the Tennessee River, from near which point they started across the prairies, more

than a hundred miles, to surprise Kaskaskia. They did not even have a horse to carry supplies. The plan to surprise the post, which might have been defended against a regiment, was carried out without a hitch. On the evening of July 4th Clark's force surrounded the town, captured the fort and made M. Rocheblave a prisoner. The French residents had been told that the Long Knives were even more savage than the Indians, and for a time Clark played upon this feeling, but soon he permitted M. Gibault, a Jesuit priest, to whom the American cause owes not a little, to hold farewell services in his church and then the colonial commander informed all the townfolk that they were at perfect liberty to conduct themselves as if nothing had happened to Kaskaskia. He artfully told them of the treaty between France and the colonies, and this news, combined with appreciation of his generosity, resulted in their swearing allegiance to Virginia and in their raising a company which Major Bowman of the American expedition took to Cahokia, sixty miles farther north. Cahokia promptly espoused the American cause. Its example was soon followed by Vincennes, to which place Father Gibault himself went for the purpose. Clark did not even have to send any military force to the town. It was in the jurisdiction of the priest, and he managed affairs so successfully that the few British soldiers at the post were glad to retire to Detroit. The inhabitants took the oath of allegiance and Clark assigned Captain Leonard Helm, with one private, to take charge of the post. Thus Clark, within

thirty days, and without the loss of a single life, had won possession of all the British posts in the country of the Illinois. But he realized the difficulty of holding so large a territory. His men had enlisted for three months only and this term had already expired. By great effort he persuaded about a hundred of them to reenlist, sending the others home with dispatches, and then he filled up his four companies with French recruits. Chiefs of Indian tribes, marvelling at what he had done, visited him at Cahokia. He showed them a war-belt and a peace-belt and told them to take their choice. His stern demeanor had the desired effect. They were glad to make terms of peace and their action influenced tribes still farther away.

About the end of the year he learned that Governor Hamilton, with eight hundred men, had ascended the Wabash and recaptured Vincennes. Captain Helm was still in command of Vincennes when Hamilton's army appeared upon the scene and the American's command consisted of Private Moses Henry. The two placed a loaded cannon at the gate and then Captain Helm, lighted match in hand, commanded the British to halt. Hamilton demanded the surrender of the post. Helm refused, asked for terms and was finally granted the honors of war. Great was the surprise of the British when the garrison, one officer and one private, marched out of the fort.

About a month later Clark learned from Colonel Francois Vigo, a merchant of the Spanish post of St. Louis, who had just visited Vincennes, that Ham-

ilton had sent away most of his followers, retaining only eighty men in garrison, and that with these, and five hundred Indians whom he intended to enlist in the task, Hamilton was planning to attack Clark at Kaskaskia in the spring.

Clark did not wait to be attacked. Following his usual tactics, he set about to attack Hamilton. No other exploit performed during the War of the Revolution was more brilliant in its conception, involved greater hardship, nor met with more brilliant success than Clark's expedition against Vincennes. On the 4th of February he sent to the Wabash a boat mounting two 4-pounders and four swivels, and commanded by Lieutenant John Rogers, who, when he reached a point ten leagues below Vincennes, was to await further orders. On the 5th, Clark moved his own command, consisting of one hundred and seventy men, across the Kaskaskia River, encamping three miles inland. Two days later Clark began in earnest a march that might well appall the stoutest heart, a march which only the strongest in body might hope to make in safety. The time was the breaking up of winter and the devious route that had to be followed to reach Vincennes entailed a journey of two hundred miles across rivers flooded far beyond their banks, over prairies covered with ice or water, or both ice and water; through mud and swamp and marsh. When, on the 13th, Clark's men reached the Little Wabash, they found a body of water three miles wide. A canoe was made and it was used to ferry the ammunition across the flood and to transport the men across

the channel, they wading the rest of the distance in water that was from three to four feet deep. This took two days and on the next day, the 16th, their supply of food ran short. One day more and they came to the Embarrass River, but it was in high flood and efforts to cross it at different places resulted in failure. Unable even to find a piece of dry land upon which to camp, they forced their way through mud, following the course of the stream, until 8 o'clock in the evening, when they reached a hillock that was only partly under water. Weak from hunger as much as from fatigue, they lay down to rest for the night. The next morning, at day-break, they heard the English gun at Fort Sackville, as Hamilton had named the post at Vincennes. The fort was only three leagues distant, but they had not yet crossed the Embarrass River, nor could they do so; therefore they followed it down to the Wabash, where they camped. The next day Clark set some of the men at work building pirogues. On the 20th the men had eaten nothing for two days and some of the French volunteers threatened to abandon the expedition. The canoes were almost finished, however, and late in the day one of the hunters killed a deer. For two more days the men waded through the flood, the canoes saving those who from time to time became so weak that they were in danger of drowning. On the 23rd, they crossed the Wabash, wading in water breast high, the boats again aiding the weak.

Great difficulties still confronted them. Though they had crossed the Wabash, they were surrounded with

water, the nearest piece of dry land, a small elevation known as Sugar Camp, being a league away. The men were really starving and there was no time to transport them in the few canoes that were available. Clark, impressed with the desperate state of affairs, gave a warhoop and plunged into the water, his officers following him. The men were soon at their heels. They sang as they waded through the water, which sometimes was up to their necks. They reached Sugar Camp in safety, but they were without food and at night the weather became so cold that their clothes froze to their bodies and ice formed on the water. Horseshoe Plain, covered for four miles with ice and water, lay between them and Vincennes, but the next morning Clark dashed into the water and the men, cheering, followed him. They greeted with an enthusiastic shout an order by Clark to put to death any man who refused to march. Clark himself grew weak before he reached the middle of the plain, but he kept the canoes busy taking care of the men who became exhausted or benumbed. The woods beyond the plain were reached, but the water was no shallower, and some of the men had to cling to logs or trees until comrades went to their help in canoes. Sunshine, camp fires and the capture of an Indian canoe containing a quarter of buffalo and some corn and tallow put the men into more cheerful spirits.

Vincennes was now in full view and from a hunter whom his men captured Clark learned that the British did not suspect the proximity of his expedition. There were many Indians in the town, the hunter told Clark.

Knowing full well that retreat across the watery waste they had traversed was impossible, even if there were any inclination to take that backward step, and realizing that delay meant discovery, perhaps annihilation, he decided to act at once. By the hunter whom his men had captured, he sent word to the French residents of the town, whom he knew to be in sympathy with the American cause, to remain in their houses when he attacked the fort, or if they preferred to join the "hair-buyer general," as he called Hamilton, to repair to the fort at once. About all of them remained in their houses. In the attack itself he resorted to strategy. Starting for the fort just before sunset, he marched and countermarched his army behind the low hills that extended obliquely toward the town and in this way the garrison, which now expected an attack, thought that the force was very large, particularly as Clark's officers, mounted on captured horses, dashed back and forth as though directing the movements of legions. Meanwhile the colors, fastened upon tall poles, were shown at long intervals. The Americans suddenly approached the town from an unexpected point and one detachment was sent to make a demonstration against the fort, while the rest received the surrender of the town. The American riflemen were soon safely in rifle pits within thirty yards of the walls, where the cannon in the fort could not be trained upon them. Many shots were exchanged in the dark and in the morning the firing became hot. Clark finally sent to Hamilton a written order to surrender, telling him that he would receive "such treat-

ment due to a murderer" if it became necessary to storm the fort. Hamilton replied that he and his garrison "are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects." Fighting was resumed. The Americans, sheltered behind earthworks and buildings, actually shot out the eyes of British soldiers who were seen looking through the loopholes. This disheartened the garrison and they were still more alarmed when the Americans intercepted and tomahawked a party of Hamilton's Indians who arrived at the fort fresh from a scalp-hunting expedition to the Falls of the Ohio. Hamilton proposed to surrender on condition that he and his men be allowed to go to Pensacola upon parole, but Clark would not consent to this and it was finally agreed that the British should surrender as prisoners of war. These terms were carried out the next morning. Hamilton and his principal officers, after being sent to Williamsburg, were kept in irons for some months, probably because of the feeling against "scalp-buying," but they were finally released by order of General Washington, who held that their imprisonment was in violation of the terms of the surrender of the fort at Vincennes.

Clark tried in every way to form an expedition to reduce the British post at Detroit, but though he was encouraged by Thomas Jefferson, actually aided by Washington, and was made a brigadier-general, the circumstances prevented his getting a command large enough to attack Detroit. "Detroit lost for a few hundred men!" he lamented. From that time his star

waned. Disappointment, actual failure in other expeditions, the seeming ingratitude of Virginia, all these told upon him, and age, drink and sickness helped to undo him. He died in February, 1818. His remains rest in Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville.

Wisconsin was in no sense part of the theater of the War of the Revolution, but nevertheless the region and its inhabitants figure in several interesting incidents connected with the struggle. The Indians along the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers were among those whom Hamilton sought to enlist in his operations against the "Long Knives," that is, the Virginians. Charles Gautier of Green Bay, a nephew of Charles Langlade, was early given a captain's commission in the British Army, and he set to work to influence the Indians of the region roundabout to fight for the cause of the King. From village to village he went, showing war belts, the Indian invitation to arms. The Indians near Milwaukee (then spelled Milwacky) were not held in high repute, and Gautier had so much trouble in the endeavor to win them over that finally Langlade himself, adept in the art of managing Indians, went to Milwaukee, where a grand council was held. Langlade, always tactful and resourceful, erected in the center of the Indian village a lodge with a door at each end, slew several dogs and placed the heart of one of them at each door. Then, after the savages had accepted his invitation to a dog feast, he sang a war song and, rapidly passing through the two doors of his cabin, he ate a piece of the two hearts. This was an appeal to the Indians, if they

were really brave, to do likewise and follow him to war. They could not resist this and one by one they ate of the dogs' hearts and sang war songs. To L'Arbre Croche, near Mackinac, which had been designated as a rendezvous, went the Indians, and thence to St. Joseph, where, to their surprise, they learned that George Rogers Clark, against whom in particular their expedition had been organized, had captured Vincennes and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton as well. Without any scalps, and full of disgust, Gautier's Indians retraced their steps to Wisconsin.

Wisconsin Indians took part in a raid on the Spanish post of St. Louis in May, 1780. Spain, following the example of her ally, France, had the year before declared war upon England, and the movement against St. Louis was part of a plan emanating from the British cabinet to capture New Orleans and all other Spanish posts in the Mississippi Valley. In the expedition were fifteen hundred Indians and a hundred and forty English and French traders. Under one Hesse, a trader, Fox, Sauk, Menominee and Winnebago Indians assembled at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, met, at the mouth of the Wisconsin, a large party of Sioux under Chief Wabasha, an exceptionally able leader, and thence descended the Mississippi to St. Louis. Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, of Mackinac, wrote to General Haldimand that "the Winnebagoes and Sioux would have stormed the Spanish lines if the Sauk and Foxes, under their treacherous leader, Monsieur Calvé, had not fallen back so early." A Monsieur Ducharme

and others who traded in the country of the Sauk kept pace with Monsieur Calvé in his perfidy. The fight lasted only a few hours. The Winnebago lost three men killed and four wounded. The only damage inflicted by the expedition was the killing or capture of some persons found upon their farms or intercepted outside of the palisades of the post. For the failure of an attack upon Cahokia, which was made at the same time, Sinclair likewise blames Calvé and Ducharme. The disappointing result of this expedition, coupled with the decisive action of Galvez, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, who, instead of waiting for the English to capture the Spanish posts, promptly overcome the British posts at Manchac, Natchez, Baton Rouge, Mobile and Pensacola, marked the end of England's struggle for the possession of the Mississippi Valley. George Rogers Clark was still at Cahokia when this expedition from Wisconsin arrived, and he not only saved the Northwest once more, but he is credited with having aided the Spanish at St. Louis, at least with counsel. Colonel Vigo of St. Louis, who after Hamilton had retaken Vincennes, had warned Clark of Hamilton's design against him, had advanced \$12,000 to Clark, in aid of the Revolutionary cause, and altogether the relations between the Americans in the Illinois country and the Spaniards in St. Louis seem to have been very friendly. It is a regrettable fact that the United States never repaid the Vigo loan until 1876.

Just as Great Britain had desired to drive Spain out of the Mississippi Valley, so Spain was eager to seize an

opportunity to lay claim to the territory between the Mississippi and the Alleghenies—the Old Northwest, in fact—and in January, 1781, the governor of St. Louis despatched Captain Eugenio Pourré, with sixty-five men, to capture the British post at St. Joseph, on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan. It was a daring exploit, and it succeeded, for they took the fort in the name of their King and returned to St. Louis with the English flag to testify to their victory. Spain afterward tried, but in vain, to acquire possession of the country east of the Mississippi on the strength of the capture of St. Joseph.

CHAPTER V
AFTER THE REVOLUTION

SHORTLY before the beginning of the War of the Revolution, there were only a few hundred settlers west of the Ohio, but even during the war the settlement of the western wilderness was rapid, and by the time that peace came, there were about twenty-five thousand people beyond what might have been the western boundary of the new nation had it not been for the enterprise of hardy pioneers, mostly sons of Virginia. And by 1790 Kentucky alone contained 73,677 souls. Thus early was indicated the marvelous growth and power of the region of which Wisconsin forms a part.

In the *Winning of the West* Theodore Roosevelt well says that the West was gained by:

First. The westward movement of the backwoodsmen during the Revolution.

Second. The final success of the Continental armies in the East.

Third. The skill of our diplomats at Paris.

Had we failed on any of these points, Mr. Roosevelt declares, the West would have been lost to us. He, of course, includes Clark's achievement in the movement of the backwoodsmen and adds that Clark did work that would have remained undone without him. This phase of the Revolution has already been described. The second fact is familiar to all. The fixing of the boundaries at Paris is of vital interest in connection with the history of Wisconsin and therefore it must be treated in some detail.

Wolfe's victory at Quebec had won for England not

Canada only, but the country of the Upper Lakes, which for generations had belonged to France, and the disputed territory of the Ohio Valley as well. In 1789, when John Adams went to Europe to negotiate peace, he bore instructions from Congress to claim as the boundary of the United States the St. John River, on the northeast; the proclamation line of 1763 to the foot of Lake Nipissing and thence a line drawn straight to the source of the Mississippi River, on the north; the Mississippi to parallel 31° north, on the west, the northern boundary of Florida, as established in 1763, on the south, and the Atlantic on the east. Adams was told, however, that if England would not concede a boundary extending from Lake Nipissing to the source of the Mississippi, he had authority to agree to some other line between that point and the Mississippi, providing that no part of the boundary should be south of latitude 45° north. The northern and western boundaries were the lines established by the French treaty and the royal proclamation of 1763. The source of the Mississippi was supposed to be at or north of the Lake of the Woods, which would have excluded Great Britain from all the Great Lakes except Superior, but almost all of that lake, together with large parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, would have been given to Great Britain by the Nipissing line. The agent of the Rockingham ministry not only conceded the boundary contended for by Adams, but he actually seemed to be on the point of ceding Canada as well. However, our ally, Spain, from which Congress had demanded the free nav-

igation of the Mississippi, "into and from the sea," not only objected to this demand, which, in 1781, our other ally, France, induced Congress to withdraw, but Spain declared that our claim to the Mississippi as our western boundary was altogether inadmissible. Spain was afraid of the power that the United States would develop if permitted to parallel the Spanish possessions along the Mississippi. Desirous of dominating the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi, Spain was seized with an ambition to acquire the country lying between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies, and northward as far as the Great Lakes. Spain based her claim upon conquests in Florida and in the Upper Mississippi Valley. The expedition that hauled down the English flag at St. Joseph was cited in particular. France, in a measure, supported Spain's claim, and John Jay, who had been sent to Madrid to reach an understanding with that government, failed to accomplish anything in that direction and therefore, in the early summer of 1782, he went to Paris, where he joined John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. In the French metropolis negotiations for peace were resumed. Spain, silently supported by France, proposed a line running due north to the Cumberland River from a point on the Gulf midway between the Mobile and Chattahoochee Rivers and down the Cumberland to the Ohio, Spain to take the western part and the United States the eastern part of the territory thus divided. Jay suspected that if he and his colleagues did not agree to the plan, France would help Spain to divide the region with Great Britain. France actually

went so far as to inform Great Britain that she would not consent to several of the American demands, including that for a boundary on the Mississippi. Our treaty with France provided that we should not conclude a treaty of peace with Great Britain until France did so and the situation was still further complicated by instructions from Congress to the American commissioners to take the French ministers freely into their confidence.

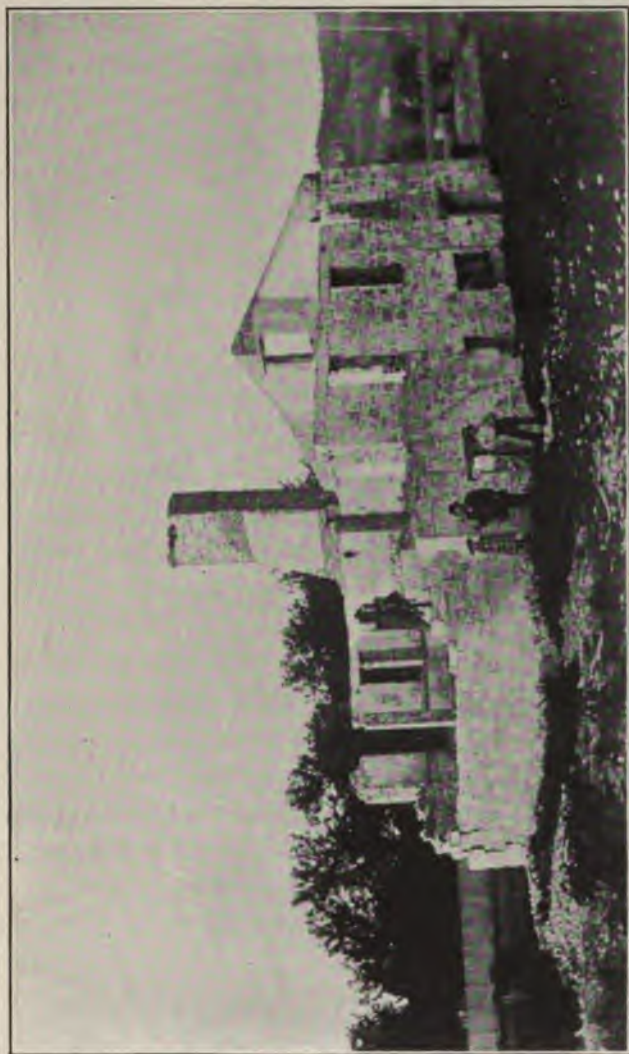
The fate of the West, so vital to the development of the nation as well as to its safety, was at stake, and the commissioners decided that heroic measures were necessary. They disregarded their instructions and opened secret negotiations with Great Britain. The British ministry, bolstered up by this turn of affairs, as well as by recent successes in war, particularly at Gibraltar, at first laid claim to the land between the Mississippi and the western boundaries of the individual states, as well as for the French boundary of Canada instead of that fixed in the proclamation of 1763, which was less extensive. Finally the British cabinet conceded the territory east of the Mississippi and then its agents and the American commissioners left it to the ministry to choose as a northern boundary either the forty-fifth parallel, northwest of the St. Lawrence, or the line of the middle of the lakes. Great Britain chose the water boundary, partly because it was a natural dividing line and partly because it would give Canada access to the Great Lakes. The selection by the British ministry of the forty-fifth boundary would have given Canada all of Lake Superior, the north half of Lakes Huron and Michigan and

parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The choice made by the British was a fortunate one for the United States; in fact, the line proposed by Congress in 1779 would not have proven so satisfactory as the one running through the middle of Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie and Ontario. The treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed September 3rd, 1783. France, foiled in the effort to enrich Spain at the expense of the United States, likewise signed a treaty with Great Britain, and general peace followed.

The treaty of peace, however, did not definitely end the dispute about our boundaries. Under that treaty the 31st parallel was to be our southern boundary, but there was a secret agreement that if in the negotiations Great Britain recovered from Spain the territory known as West Florida, which Spain's energetic representative at New Orleans had conquered as soon as war had been declared between his country and the British, then the line between West Florida and the United States was to be located a hundred miles farther north. There were other conditions in the treaty of peace and certain acts to be performed on both sides to make the treaty fully operative. Upon the excuse that we had not kept our promises, the British for years retained possession of the military posts on the Great Lakes. General Haldiman, the English commander in Canada, told Baron Steuben, who, as General Washington's representative, visited him with a commission to take over the English posts at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinac, and elsewhere, that he had not received instructions to surrender these

posts, and he went so far as to decline to discuss the subject with the Baron. The English even built a new fort, Miami, at the rapids of the Maumee, now the site of Perrysburg, Ohio. This state of affairs lasted for the next thirteen years. Meanwhile the Americans were engaged in a fierce war with the Indians, and it has been charged that the savages received aid and comfort at the English posts. In 1794 General Anthony Wayne, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, finally won a decisive victory over the Indians, and thus brought about peace with them.

It took time and diplomacy to settle the trouble growing out of Great Britain's retention of the posts in the region of the Great Lakes. The chief complaint of the British was that the American states did not carry out the treaty stipulation providing for the prompt payment of debts due to British citizens from Americans, but rather, by vexatious legislation and adverse judicial decisions, prevented the collection of debts of this class. Failure to provide for the restitution of British subjects' estates which had been confiscated, and violation of the article forbidding confiscations and prosecutions of persons for the part that they might have taken in the war, were also charged against America. The United States, on the other hand, not only felt aggrieved at the failure of England to evacuate the frontier posts, but alleged as grievances against the mother country its failure to make compensation for negroes carried off at the close of the war, its failure to make commercial regulations satisfactory to the American government and its burden-



RUINS OF FORT CRAWFORD.

some restrictions upon American trade with the British West Indies. Ending in 1788, John Adams spent three years in England trying to win recognition of America's demands, and late in 1789 President Washington sent Gouverneur Morris to England on a similar mission, but it was not successful. In 1791, after ministers had been appointed to each country by the other, Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, endeavored to show that in contravention of the treaty the British had retained possession of the frontier posts; that British officers had tried to exercise jurisdiction even beyond the forts; had excluded American citizens from the navigation of waters on the American side of the boundary, and that they had carried off negroes and other property. When Great Britain set up the action of American courts and legislatures against debts due to British subjects as a ground for justification of Great Britain's retention of the forts, Jefferson replied that the United States had in good faith recommended to the various states that which it had bound itself to recommend, but that change of legislation in thirteen states was necessarily slow, while the evacuation of the forts was a simple matter that the treaty absolutely required. Nothing, however, had been accomplished at the end of 1793, when Jefferson resigned his portfolio. In the following April a resolution was introduced in the lower house of Congress to discontinue trade in articles grown or manufactured in Great Britain until the posts along the frontier should be turned over to the United States. Such a step meant war, in all probability, but Congress nevertheless seemed

bent upon passing the resolution. In fact, even after Washington had nominated a special mission to Great Britain, headed by John Jay, the resolution in question was adopted by the House. In the Senate it was defeated only by the Vice President's voting against it. Jay, assisted by Pinckney, our minister at St. James, finally succeeded, November, 1794, in completing a treaty that settled all points in dispute. The treaty, among other things, provided for the evacuation of the posts by June 1st, 1796; for free intercourse across the boundary and free navigation of the Mississippi and for a survey of the Upper Mississippi in order to fix the boundary in that region. The treaty met with strong opposition, even in the Congress, but it was finally ratified.

The end of the War of the Revolution had left internal land disputes as well as international boundary lines to be settled. The colonies had now become states and some of them laid claim to very extensive possessions, their claims being based upon the royal charters creating the colonies. The royal grantor had been ignorant of American geography, and as a result some of the claims overlapped one another in a most bewildering way. For instance, the charter granted to the London Company in 1609, bounding the colony thenceforward known as Virginia, made a grant two hundred miles each way from Point Comfort, "and all that Space and Circuit of Land Lying from the Sea-Coast of the Precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from Sea to Sea, West and Northwest." A charter in 1620, granted to the Plymouth Company all that part of America lying

between 40 degrees and 48 degrees of north latitude, "and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout all the Maine Lands from Sea to Sea." Half of this territory was already claimed by the French, and much of it was held by them until the fall of Quebec. England claimed all the coast that the Cabots had discovered, and the whole interior as well, a claim that France and Spain defeated in the end. It has been contended that the grants from sea to sea were made on the supposition that the continent was narrow, but the Plymouth Council informed the home government as early as 1635 that it was three thousand miles from sea to sea. The charter of Maryland, issued by Charles I. in 1632, infringed upon Virginia's territory, as defined in the charter of 1609, and Virginia protested against it, but in vain. The charter granted in 1681 by Charles II. to Lord Penn made serious disputes with both Maryland and Virginia inevitable. The Carolina charter, granted in 1663, made a grant "west in a direct line as far as" the Pacific Ocean and so did the enlarged grant made two years later. The grant to South Carolina as late as 1732 contains the same generous language. The grant of the Plymouth Council to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629, and the grant by Charles II., in 1662, to the Connecticut Company, used words of similar meaning.

The complicated character of the territorial divisions of the colonies is barely outlined in the preceding statements. Disputes growing out of these loosely drawn charters were taken into English court, into colonial legislatures, into state legislatures, and into the Supreme

court of the United States, but for a while after the Revolution, the conflicting claims of some of the states, claiming under the "from sea to sea" grants, seemed likely to affect the Old Northwest in a material degree.

The settlement of the West, which had been in progress all through the Revolution, increased as soon as peace came, and therefore the ownership of the vast domain beyond the Alleghenies was a serious question. New York complicated the situation by putting forth a claim to the region, particularly the Ohio Valley, which the Iroquois had overrun in former years. New York contended that she had acquired the Iroquois title. Virginia and North Carolina were the only states that had done any considerable colonizing in the West. Virginia alone had been the pioneer in the Northwest. Early in the discussion as to the proper disposition of the territory, Maryland, fearful that Virginia's pretensions would attract many of her own people, contended, and with not a little justice, that none of the states had any valid title to the land which had been won from the British, and urged that it should be made part of the national domain. In 1780 New York abandoned, in favor of the country at large, her claim to territory in the West. Maryland, which had been holding aloof because of these rival claims, joined the Confederation during the following year. Congress appealed to the other states to follow the example set by New York, and in making this plea that body indicated the policy that was afterward pursued—of admitting parts of the territory as states, with the same rights as the old states

possessed, as soon as they had grown sufficiently in population. Virginia, determined to assert her claim to the utmost, had as early as 1779 passed acts regarding the sale of land west of the Alleghanies. It was not until 1784 that she ceded to Congress her title rights to the territory northwest of the Ohio, retaining a reserve for the use of her soldiers and not yielding her title to Kentucky. The other states decided to cede their claims to the general government. Connecticut did not take this step until 1786, and even then she made a hard bargain by reserving five thousand square miles of land in Northern Ohio—the tract that afterward became famous as the Western Reserve.

On the whole, however, the settlement effected was a happy issue out of disputes that might have been fraught with serious consequences. It emphasized, too, the tendency toward a central government, and it indicated the development of a new force in the councils of the nation.

CHAPTER VI
THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

VIRTUALLY being conquered territory, not part of the Colonies that had successfully fought for their liberty, the Old Northwest, of which Wisconsin formed part, was for years treated by the Congress in a spirit of doubt and uncertainty. The problems that it presented were more or less difficult. After the Revolution, when travel and communication were slow, not much was known of the Northwest, and few were the prophets who predicted the greatness that has come to it.

Income from the sale of lands was one great aim of the governmental policy with regard to the vast territory west of the Alleghenies. Theodoric Bland, a member of the Congress from Virginia, proposed that the land be sold to soldiers in payment of war debts. Out of every one hundred thousand acres, he urged, ten thousand acres should be retained by the United States, the revenues therefrom to be devoted to the founding of seminaries of learning, to the erection of frontier posts and to the payment of the government's civil list. This plan failed. On March 1, 1784, the very day of Virginia's cession of her claim to the public domain, a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, reported an ordinance for the government of the western lands. This passed April 23, after the Congress had amended it. Under its terms the territory was to be divided into two rows of states from east to west, the odd parallels of latitude being their north and south boundaries. In this way specific provision was made

for seven states north of the Ohio, for another state lying partly north of that river, and, impliedly, for six or seven states south of it. Each of these new states was to use the constitution of one of the original states until it reached a population of twenty thousand, when it could adopt a constitution and a permanent government of its own. It could enter the confederacy as soon as the number of its inhabitants equaled the population of any of the original states. A provision that there should be no slavery in the territory was stricken out before the measure was passed. Jefferson realized that the ordinance did not provide adequately for the settlement of the West, and so on May 7, he reported an additional bill outlining a method of disposing of the public domain. His plan was referred in March, 1785, to a new committee and as a result the Congress in May passed "an Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western territory." This law applied to all territory which had been ceded to the government by individual states as well as to lands which had been purchased from Indians. At that time, however, little had been done in the way of purchasing Western lands from the Indians. The law regarding the sale of land in the Northwest provided for a survey of the territory under the directions of the United States Geographer. The territory, it was provided, should be divided into townships six miles square by lines running due north and south and by other lines crossing these at right angles. The first north-and-south line and the first east-and-west line were to begin

on the Ohio River, at a point "due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania." The townships were to be numbered progressively from south to north, with No. 1 beginning each range, while the ranges were to be distinguished by progressive numbers to the westward. The law directed that the townships should be subdivided into lots (or sections) of one mile square, or 640 acres, by means of north-and-south and east-and-west lines. The lots were to be numbered from 1 to 36, the first tier of sections to be numbered progressively toward the east, the second tier to be numbered progressively toward the west, continuing in this way until the bottom tier had been numbered.

It was made the duty of the Geographer, as soon as the work of surveying seven ranges was concluded, to transmit the plats to the Board of Treasury, to be recorded. The Secretary of War was required to take by lot from the whole number of townships and fractional townships, in each series of seven ranges, one-seventh of the whole, until enough land had been thus selected to satisfy all the claims which were covered in the resolutions of Congress, adopted in 1776 and 1780, giving part of the public domain to survivors of the Revolutionary army. The Board of Treasury was to draw the remaining numbers "in the name of the thirteen States respectively, according to the quotas in the last preceding requisition on all the States," and then to certify the results of these drawings to the Commissioners of the State Land offices. These commissioners

were required to advertise the public sale of the lands, the odd-numbered townships in the first range to be sold entire, the even-numbered townships in the same range to be sold in lots, the odd-numbered townships in the second range to be sold in lots, and the even-numbered townships in their entirety, and so on alternately. No land was to be sold at less than one dollar an acre, plus the cost of surveying and other charges, estimated at \$36 a township. Lots Nos. 8, 11, 26 and 29 in each township were reserved to the United States for the purpose of sale in the future. The ordinance also provided that Lot 16 in each township was reserved for the maintenance of public schools in the township.

The method of surveying land which is set out in the Ordinance is the same as that which is in use at the present time, except that subdivisions of a township down to forty-acre tracts have since been added. Thomas Hutchins, who was an engineer in Colonel Henry Boquet's expedition to the Ohio, was the first Geographer. By some he is credited with planning the system of surveying the Northwest. The complicated character of the proposed method of selling the lands was the result of trying to recognize state rights and national rights in the unorganized public domain.

In the summer of 1785, James Monroe went to the mouth of the Great Miami to aid in forming a treaty with Indians. Because of knowledge that he thus gained, he became convinced that it would be unwise to divide the territory into so many small states as Jefferson had proposed. Steps were at once taken to revise

the Virginia and Massachusetts cessions so as to permit the creation of not more than five and not fewer than three states. This was referred to a committee of which Monroe was chairman. The report of this committee recommended a great change—the appointment of a governor, council, judges and other officers by the Congress, instead of requiring the new states to operate temporarily under the constitution of one of the original states.

The division of the territory into five states, one east of Lake Michigan, one west of that lake, and three south of the parallel passing through its southern extremity, a modification of the Monroe plan, was urged by William Grayson of Virginia, in the summer of 1786. At that time the Spaniards barred passage to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi, cutting off the western pioneers from the most accessible market for their products, and it was feared that the southwestern states would desert the confederation and become allies of Spain in order to gain the privilege of free navigation of the Mississippi. A commercial treaty which Spain had proposed to the United States would be greatly to the advantage of the eastern and northern states, and those sections, naturally jealous of the West's prospect of rapid growth, defeated Grayson's plan to create more western states. The following autumn Monroe's ordinance was amended by providing for a system of land conveyance similar to that of Massachusetts. The right of *habeas corpus* and of trial by jury were included in this ordinance, the first provisions of the kind proposed

in connection with the government of any western territory. Early in April, 1787, the committee to which the Monroe bill had been referred reported a measure providing that the territory north of the Ohio should be regarded as one district and should be governed by a governor and judges to be appointed by the Congress. These officers should make laws for the territory until the voting population reached five thousand, when a house of representatives might be elected. The *habeas corpus* act and the provision for trial by jury were retained in this bill, but the provision in regard to the conveyance of land was omitted.

On July 1, this bill was referred to a new committee, whose work will be praised so long as Republic endures. The Ordinance of 1787, the passage of which preceded the adoption of the Constitution by a very brief period of time, has been pronounced the foundation of almost everything that has made the American system of government peculiar. It has been the basis of succeeding rules for the government of territories and the principles which it enunciated are now embodied in the constitutions of states. It provided a plan for the government of all the original public domain which was held in common by the federal states.

The attraction of the West for the colonists, in spite of royal interdiction, and the westward movement of the pioneers, even during the Revolution, have already been noted somewhat in detail. In 1783 Washington, in his final order, said to his troops: "The extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to



Manasseh Cutler.

those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence." This was in November. As early as the preceding June, almost three hundred officers of the army, mostly Massachusetts men, and headed by General Rufus Putnam, had petitioned the Congress to set aside, for future statehood, a tract of land west of Pennsylvania, north of the Ohio, south of Lake Erie and east of a meridian twenty-four miles west of the mouth of the Scioto and the Miami of the Lakes, and to apportion to them land within these boundaries to the amount to which they were entitled under their bounties. This petition was the first step toward the organization of the Ohio Company of Associates. The directors of this organization finally sent General S. H. Parsons, of Connecticut, to negotiate with the Congress, which was sitting in New York, for the purchase of land in the territory described. He arrived in New York in May, 1786, but he disagreed with the policy of his company, and early in the month of July following he was succeeded by Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a remarkable man,—lawyer, clergyman and physician, as well as botanist and meteorologist. Dr. Cutler reached New York just a day before the ordinance growing out of Monroe's ideas was to be taken up with a view of hastening its passage. His business was to acquire public land in exchange for certificates of public debt, but he was essentially a man of affairs. He was keen, broad-minded, far-seeing. He immediately became actively interested in the form of government to be established in the new territory. The condition of the national finances com-

pelled the Congress to pay attention to so promising a customer. He possessed power to turn in certificates of public indebtedness amounting to a million dollars in exchange for public land, and this fact, as well as his personality and character, gave him much influence in shaping legislation affecting the West. Whether or not he went to New York with any well-defined plans of government in his mind is not clear, but he did propose several amendments to the Ordinance as it was originally drawn, and some of the most important features of the final enactment are his ideas. Chief among these are the prohibition of slavery and the encouragement of education. Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, who drew the Ordinance, doubtless consulted Dr. Cutler in regard to the measure—it is known, at any rate, that a copy of the original draft was submitted to Cutler in order that he might make any suggestions regarding it. One provision which he urged, that the new states should not be subject to national taxation until they were entitled to full representation in the Congress, was rejected because it was feared that it would unduly stimulate immigration to the West.

The following admirable synopsis of the Ordinance of 1787 is taken from *The Old Northwest*, by Dr. B. A. Hinsdale:

Section 1 constituted the Territory, one district for temporary government, but reserved to Congress the power to divide it into two districts in the future.

Section 2 ordained that landed estates in the Territory, of persons dying intestate, should be divided among the children of the intestate, or if none, among the next of kin, in equal shares. This

provision Jefferson had introduced into the ordinance for Western lands that he reported in 1784, and that Congress never acted upon, in the words: "The lands therein shall pass in descent and dower according to the customs known in the common law by the name of gavelkind." It adds interest to the fact to recall that, not long before, entails and primogeniture had been eradicated from the laws of Virginia.

Sections 3 to 12, inclusive, created a Territorial government, and directed how it should be administered. Congress should appoint a governor for a term of three years, a secretary for a term of four years, and three judges for good behavior. Until the election of a general assembly, the governor and judges should adopt and publish in the district such of the laws, civil and criminal, of the original States as they deemed necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the people, subject to the approval of Congress. The governor should be commander-in-chief of the militia, should appoint and commission militia officers below the rank of general officers, and appoint such magistrates and other civil officers in counties and townships as he deemed necessary to the maintenance of peace and good order. The secretary's duties are sufficiently indicated by his title. Any two of the judges should form a court having a common-law jurisdiction. A general assembly was authorized as soon as there should be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district. The legislature should consist, when formed, of a governor, a legislative council, and a house of representatives; the representatives to be chosen by the people, but the five members of the council to be chosen by Congress from a list of ten nominated by the house of representatives. The legislature should elect a Territorial delegate to Congress. All the officers must reside in the Territory. The governor must own a freehold of 1,000 acres of land in the district; the secretary, the judges, and the members of the council must have similar freeholds of 500 acres each; representatives must hold, in their own right, 200 acres of land in the district, and no man was a qualified elector of a representative, the only elective office, unless he filled the following requirement: "That a freehold in 50 acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative."

What havoc these rules would make with the legislatures and electoral bodies of to-day! They were intended

to confine the government of the Territory to those men who had, as the English say, "a stake in the country." Moreover, they were in accord with the temper of the times, and they stand on the statute-book of 1787 a landmark from which we may measure how far the American people have drifted on the tide of democracy in one hundred years. The whole government was centralized to a degree that would not now be endured in the United States outside of Utah.

Then follow the articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the Territory, forever unalterable, unless by common consent—the six bright jewels in the crown that the Northwest Territory was ever to wear.

Article I declares that "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said Territory."

Article II guarantees to the inhabitants the writ of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, proportional representation in the legislature, and the privileges of the common law. The article concludes with the declaration "That no law ought ever to be made or have force in the said Territory that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts, or engagements bona fide, and without fraud previously formed." A few weeks later, this provision was copied into the Constitution of the United States, but this is its first appearance in a charter of government. It was an outgrowth of the troublous commercial condition of the country. Lee, who originally brought it forward, intended it as a stroke at paper money.

Article III contains those words that should be emblazoned on the escutcheon of every American State: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It also says that good faith shall be observed toward the Indians.

Article IV ordained "That the said Territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein" as might be made, and to the laws enacted by Congress. It concludes, after some provisions in regard to taxation: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said Territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, imposts, or duty therefor."

Article V provided for the formation in the Territory, of States, not less than three nor more than five, and drew their boundary lines subject to changes that Congress might afterward make. A population of 60,000 free inhabitants should entitle every one of these States to admission—not "into the Union," a phrase that came in with the Constitution, but—"by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever," and to "form a permanent constitution of State government," with the proviso that "the constitution and government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles."

Article VI dedicated the Northwest to freedom forever, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." But this prohibition was coupled with a proviso that stamps the whole article as a compromise. "Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The provision of the Ordinance in regard to education has found expression in the fundamental laws of all the states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—which have since been carved out of the Northwest Territory. In addition to the setting aside of the sixteenth section of every township for the use of pub-

lic schools, each state has received from the national government at least two townships, seventy-two square miles of land, for the support of a university. The magnificent universities at Madison, Ann Arbor and Champaign are partly the result of this wise and liberal policy of the fathers of the republic. The early establishment of good common schools throughout the state is even more largely due to that policy.

The prohibition of slavery which was embodied in the Ordinance is an interesting subject. In view of the fact that the operation of this clause, by limiting the extent and the strength of the slave power, undoubtedly figured in the final result of the Civil War, it is an odd fact that the votes of southern members caused it to be inserted in the Ordinance. It had been omitted from the original draft, the supposition being that it could not possibly receive the endorsement of a body in which the only eastern state represented was Massachusetts, but it was found that the house was favorable to prohibiting slavery in the new states, and an amendment to that effect was unanimously adopted. It should be explained, however, that Jefferson's plan to prohibit slavery, which had been rejected in 1784, included all the territory "ceded or to be ceded," which in time would have kept slavery out of several southern states. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery northwest of the Ohio only, and this provision was modified by a fugitive slave clause.

When the Ordinance was passed, only eight of the thirteen states were represented in the Congress. These were Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware,

Virginia, Georgia and the two Carolinas. Just eighteen members voted on the Ordinance and only one of these, Yates of New York voted against it. Few of these eighteen men are prominent in history. The Federal Convention was sitting at Philadelphia at that time and Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin and other men of their class were attending its sittings.

Thus the Ordinance of 1787, which in effect was the first constitution of what has become the most important section of the whole country, went through Congress as early as it did for the reason, in part, that another subject held the attention of the young nation's foremost statesmen. But, whatever causes contributed to its enactments, it stands as a striking example of broad statesmanship and wise, beneficent policy, and it has proved a blessing, not to the Northwest Territory only, but to the whole Nation.

CHAPTER VII
THE WAR OF 1812

BY the treaty of peace of 1783, which recognized American independence, and by the treaty which Jay negotiated in 1795, the British government stipulated that the Northwest Territory, together with its forts and dependencies, should be transferred to the United States. However, as explained in another chapter, Great Britain was so slow in carrying out her agreement that when the War of 1812 began, Wisconsin, while ostensibly American territory, was in fact dominated by the British. The French *habitants* and *voyageurs* of Wisconsin, unlike those of Southern Illinois and of Indiana, who, in the War of the Revolution, went over to the patriots, were closely bound by blood and social ties to Great Britain's French subjects at Montreal and Quebec; the Indians of Wisconsin, except the Menominee, whom the noted Chief Tomah kept in a neutral attitude, were almost solidly in favor of the British cause; while all the Anglo-Saxon traders of Wisconsin were British by birth and by sympathy. Thus it was that Wisconsin did not really become part of the United States until after the War of 1812.

The French residents of Wisconsin were for the most part citizens of the United States, but many of them served on the British side. A treaty made after the Revolutionary War provided that unless within a year they signified their intention to remain subjects of the British Kingdom, they were to be citizens of the new republic. The Canadians, ignorant of this provision, took no action in the premises. Thus they had long

been American citizens before the War of 1812 began. Yet when the British military forces took possession of the Northwest, the commanders regarded them as British subjects and compelled them to render service in the militia.

On the British side the chief figure in Wisconsin during the War of 1812 was Robert Dickson. He was one of three brothers who, soon after the close of the War of the Revolution, emigrated to Canada from Dumfriesshire, Scotland. William, the eldest, established himself at Niagara in the practice of the law. Thomas, the second brother, became a trader at Queenstown, near Niagara, and in the War of 1812 he served as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Lincoln Regiment. Robert, the third brother, was the most adventurous and in the end he proved himself to be even more loyal to the British cause than either of his brothers. Even before 1793 Dickson was engaged in a trade with the Indians of the Upper Lakes. He was soon regarded as an authority upon the geography and the trade of the entire Northwest. When Zebulon M. Pike, a United States army officer, ascended the Mississippi River, he met Dickson, whose knowledge of the country he praises. Indeed, an elaborate description by Dickson of the Fox-Wisconsin water route is printed in the appendix of Pike's Expedition to the Mississippi headwaters. The trader's principal post, at the time when he met Pike, seems to have been at Cedar Lake. He was connected with the powerful Northwest Company, whose representatives, like himself, were for the most Scotch-

men. Their stockaded posts, even though located upon American soil, flew the British flag, a fact that caused Pike to think upon the future. "In the case of a rupture," he wrote, "the British government would not hesitate to use these posts as places of deposit of arms and ammunition to be distributed to the savages who joined their arms." These trading posts were not only located along the Upper Lakes, and upon the shores of the Mississippi, but even in the Valley of the Missouri River. Dickson himself is credited with performing the feat of ascending the Missouri to its headwaters. He and his associates in the Northwest Company were brave, hardy, enterprising men, fond of adventure and loyal to the core; hence it is not surprising that Lieutenant Pike became uneasy.

The Northwest Company, intrenched so strongly in American territory, was really a British advance guard. Its influence over the Indians might cause thousands of them to take up arms against Americans. The Americans tried in every way to destroy Dickson's influence. When he sought to return to his post on the Mississippi in 1811, a determined effort was made to prevent him from entering the territory of the United States. He reached his post, however, and he says that he found that the Americans had been making overtures to the Indians, not only giving presents to them, but inviting their chiefs to visit Washington. Dickson at once began to counteract these influences. Drouth had caused the failure of their crops and had driven game away. To succor them, he immediately distrib-

uted among them his own goods, amounting to several thousands of dollars. In this way he saved the lives of many and the savages became more attached to him than ever. In the spring, while on his way to Canada to obtain more supplies for them, he was intercepted at the Fox-Wisconsin portage by two Indian runners bearing a warning from the British authorities that war with the Americans was likely to result and asking him in guarded terms, how many of his "friends," meaning the Indians, could be depended upon, what their disposition was and whether they would march under his orders. Dickson sent thirty Menominee to Amherstburg without delay, and in July, 1812, he led a hundred and thirty Menominee, Winnebago and Sioux warriors to Mackinac. His band took a prominent part in the reduction of the American fort on Mackinac Island. Dickson's influence over the Indians is commented upon in the official reports and some time later he was appointed Indian agent for the region west of the Mississippi, at an annual salary of two hundred pounds sterling, and in addition was reimbursed to the extent of 1875 pounds for the goods which he had distributed among suffering savages in order to bind them to the British cause. Meanwhile the Sauk, refused aid at Fort Madison, enlisted under Dickson. He named the famous Black Hawk as chief of his savage allies and hurried him to Detroit, by way of Chicago, with a total force of five hundred warriors. Both Detroit and Chicago, however, had fallen before this force reached those posts, and the expedition came to naught. The massacre

of part of the garrison and many of the settlers of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, after the post had capitulated, is a sad chapter in the history of that period. In the early summer of 1813, Dickson induced fourteen hundred Indians, the flower of the wild warriors of Wisconsin and vicinity, to go to Detroit. In the siege of Fort Meigs they and the other red allies of the British, numbering at that time as many more, proved to be more a weakness than a strength. This was likewise the case in the attack upon Fort Stephenson, but General Proctor, while recognizing the unstable character of the Indians, paid a high tribute to Dickson's zeal and ability. His activity as a partisan leader continued. The British, in the fall of 1813, sent a small force to Green Bay, in order to maintain a post at that point, where John Lawe and Louis Grignon, commissioned as lieutenants, were serving the British. They were subordinate to Dickson, who pushed on to Lake Winnebago, and established winter quarters on Garlic Island. The Americans had heard that he intended to march against St. Louis and as a counter-movement they advanced a thousand strong, under General Howard, and erected a fort at Peoria. *Niles' Register* for May 14th, 1814, describes the fear of an attack by Dickson and in addition it published the names of persons in the western parts of the United States who had joined the British. To this list Wisconsin contributed the names of Robert Dickson, James Aird, Duncan Graham, Francis Boutellier, Edward La Guthrie and Michael Brisbois, of Prairie du Chien; Jacob Franks and the brothers

Grignon, of Green Bay, and Joseph La Croix and a man named Le Sellier, of Milwaukee. Soon afterward an expedition under General William Clark, governor of Missouri, ascended the Mississippi and took possession of Prairie du Chien. The place had been held by a few men of the Michigan Fencibles, under Captain Francis Michael Dease. These gave up the post without firing a shot.

Dickson retained his influence over Sioux, Menominee and Winnebago. He was at Mackinac with about three hundred of these Indians when the news of the loss of Prairie du Chien came. Dickson detached half of the Indians assembled upon the island to accompany an expedition under Lieutenant Colonel McKay, who was a partner in the Northwest Company, to retake Prairie du Chien. Dickson himself remained at Mackinac and aided in repulsing the American attack upon that post.

Before the War of 1812 Prairie du Chien had attracted little or no attention. Early in that war it became important from a strategic point of view. Situated almost midway between Mackinac, of which the British had possessed themselves, and St. Louis, the center of American operations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, and located where the waters of the Wisconsin join those of the Mississippi,—at the end, in fact, of the favorite water route from Mackinac to the Mississippi,—Prairie du Chien finally became more or less a theater of war.

The struggle for the possession of Prairie du Chien

was the most important feature of the war so far as it directly affected Wisconsin. After the American force from St. Louis had captured the place, they erected a fort, which they named in honor of Isaac Shelby, the first governor of Kentucky. The site of the fort was a mound in the rear of the village. Lieutenant Joseph Perkins, a Mississippian, was left in charge of the fort, or stockade, his command consisting of only sixty soldiers. He was provided with two gunboats, each carrying a six-pounder, and two howitzers. The little army which the British sent against him consisted of British soldiers, French-Canadian traders and boatmen, Indians and half-breeds. McKay's chief lieutenants were Joseph Rolette and Thomas G. Anderson, both of whom held commissions in the British Indian Department. The entire command numbered 650 men, but 500 of these were Indians in whom McKay could not place much reliance. The expedition, following the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, reached Prairie du Chien at noon, June 17th. A half-hour after McKay sent to the American commandant a summons to surrender unconditionally. The American officer was told, in case he did not surrender upon these terms, to send away his women and children and to defend himself to the last man. Captain Perkins replied that he was determined to defend the post to the last man.

Lying at anchor in the Mississippi, in front of the fort, was the American gunboat Governor Clark. McKay says that the craft mounted fourteen pieces of cannon and was so constructed that it could easily fire in any

direction. The men on board, he added, could use their small arms to advantage, as they themselves were safe from the fire of musketry. The British officer had not intended to attack the Americans until the next morning, but in order to satisfy the Indians, he ordered a single piece of artillery to play upon the boat. In three hours eighty-six shots were fired at the craft and McKay afterward reported that two-thirds of these took effect. Meanwhile fort and gunboat returned the fire. Finally McKay's one cannon was advanced to within musket shot of the fort, in order to attack the boat to better advantage. For about an hour the crew of the gun were between two fires, but in the end the boat cut its cables and went down stream, taking shelter behind an island. It finally escaped. Two small boats, containing twenty-seven men commanded by Captain Grignon, were sent in pursuit. They fell in with a smaller gunboat, a consort of the Governor Clark, and were in turn pursued.

Meanwhile the attack upon Fort Shelby continued. Two days after it had begun, however, the British discovered that they had only six rounds of cannon balls left, including three American shot that they had picked up. That day, June 19th, was employed in making lead balls for the cannon and in throwing up two lines of breastworks, one within 700 feet of the fort and the other within 450 feet of it. In the evening McKay was on the point of marching into the first breastworks, in order to fire red hot shot into the fort, with the design of burning it, when a white flag suddenly appeared on the walls of the fort and an officer came out with a note

announcing the decision of Captain Perkins to surrender the post. He made the condition, however, that his officers and men should be protected from the Indians who formed part of the British force. The British commander told Captain Perkins to delay the surrender until the next morning at 8 o'clock, when he should be allowed to march out with the honors of war and to place himself and his command under the protection of the British troops. McKay, pending this ceremony, placed a strong guard in the fort and took possession of the American cannon. This artillery consisted of a six-pounder, a three-pounder and three swivel guns. In McKay's report of the surrender, it is stated that the American command consisted of more than three score men, officers and privates, and that among the articles surrendered were twenty-eight barrels of pork, forty-six barrels of flour and a quantity of ammunition. Just why the Americans surrendered so soon is difficult to conjecture. They occupied a fortified position, and while their numbers were inferior to those of the British, they, in addition to a generous supply of provisions, had the advantage in artillery and in ammunition. There is good ground for belief that they might have held out until reinforcements arrived or might even have beaten off the attacking force. As it was, the defense of the fort was somewhat tame. Only three of the men in the garrison were wounded and none of them dangerously, during the siege.

Soon after the capture of the fort, to which he gave his name, McKay reported that Indians whom he had

provided with ammunition and sent down the Mississippi River, attacked one of six American barges which were ascending the river, burned it, killed a hundred persons and captured five pieces of cannon. McKay pronounces this one of the most brilliant engagements in which Indians have ever taken part. The Indians who attacked the barge consisted of Sauk, Kickapoo and Foxes. Even their women, according to McKay, took part in the attack, using their hoes as weapons.

The expedition which the Indians attacked was commanded by Lieutenant Campbell and it included United States regulars from St. Louis. The Indians did capture one of the boats, and Campbell was wounded in the hand, but his Indians misled McKay in regard to the magnitude of the achievement, as the total number of casualties on the American side was very small. The scene of the encounter was near Rock Island.

Somewhat extensive preparations to recover the ground that had been lost in the Upper Mississippi were made by the Americans during the summer. Major Zachary Taylor, with a force of regulars all in boats, began the ascent from St. Louis the 3rd of August. A small party of British from Fort McKay, with two field pieces and supported by a thousand or more Indians, were in waiting at Rock Island. Upon Taylor's squadron, as soon as it was within range, the British opened fire with their twelve pounders, which were stationed on the east bank of the Mississippi. One shot passed through Captain Hempstead's boat, disabling it, so that it began to drift ashore, but through the heroism



Zachary Taylor.

of one Paul Harpole in casting a cable from the helpless craft to Captain Whiteside's boat, which stood by long enough to complete the rescue, the whole American force was enabled to draw off in safety. Harpole fired musket after musket at the enemy, lingering in an exposed spot for the purpose, and he was finally shot in the forehead. He fell into the river. The Indians recovered his body, which they hacked and mutilated in a most shocking manner. Ten other Americans were killed or wounded. Major Taylor took his command back to St. Louis. Because of the ability and enterprise shown by them in this engagement, Lieutenant Duncan Graham was promoted to a captaincy in the British department and Sergeant Keating of the Royal Artillery was made a lieutenant and placed in command of the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery.

Lieutenant Andrew H. Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, part of the regular army, was assigned to the command of Fort McKay on the 17th of October, 1814. He had a few men of the artillery and of the Eighty-first Regiment, but the bulk of his command consisted of Michigan Fencibles, being McKay's old command, now under Lieutenant Pullman; the Mississippi Volunteers, composed principally of French *habitants*, commanded by Captain T. G. Anderson, and the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Keating. Altogether the force did not greatly exceed two hundred men, the Mississippi Volunteers, 130 strong, being the largest part of the garrison. Until Bulger assumed command, Anderson

had been in command of the post since early in August, when McKay had returned to Mackinac. Bulger, while only a lieutenant in the regular army, held the local rank of captain. He was a native of St. John's, Newfoundland, and he had taken part in some sixteen engagements in the pending war when he was ordered to the faraway post on the Mississippi. The instructions from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, the commandant at Mackinac, were to drill his motley forces often, and to hold a full dress parade every Sunday, so as to maintain good order in the garrison. He was urged to gain the affections of the Indians, as, properly cherished, the spirit which they had lately displayed in favor of the British would prove a certain safeguard to the post. Their Great Father, the King, would never abandon them, he was directed to tell them, nor would he lay down his arms until their independence was secured and their lands and children were safe from molestation.

It was an anxious and dreary winter that Captain Bulger spent at Fort McKay. Still suffering from a wound in the breast, he made the trip by boat while the Wisconsin River was filled with floating ice. His supply of provisions ran out, so that before the journey ended, there was not a meal in any of the boats. The Indians whom he encountered along the waterway that formed his route could not render any aid, because they were starving, owing to lack of ammunition. When he reached the fort, he found that the inhabitants had been ruined by the depredations of the Indians, there not being ten head of cattle in the place, whereas the settlement had

formerly boasted of possessing 200 or more. Very often the officers did not taste meat of any kind for a whole fortnight. The inhabitants had a little flour, but they would not sell it for money, which was of no use to them. To add to the commandant's troubles an attack by American troops was confidently expected early the next summer. He did not have a high opinion of his own soldiers. He would prefer forty British regulars, he stated, to a hundred Michigan Fencibles. Even the Indians, he declared, viewed the Fencibles with contempt, as they had known them as *voyageurs*.

A mutiny soon broke out among the Fencibles. Martial law was declared, the first case of the kind recorded in Wisconsin, and court-martials were held. Le Sieur Dupuis, a private, was arrested for disobeying orders to place in custody another private, Bonnai by name. He publicly insulted Captain Bulger by supporting in disobedience another soldier whom the officer had ordered out of the ranks during parade. Dupuis set up the excuse that he refused to take Bonnai to the guard house because the men in the barracks were determined to resist any attempt to arrest the man. Hypolite Senecal, another private, was arrested for threatening, with flourish of knife and play of bayonet, to resist any effort to arrest Bonnai. Dupuis and Senecal were both found guilty and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. The number was reduced by half, but the punishment was inflicted in public. The Fencibles seem to have mended their ways after this episode.

The next event of importance at the fort was a charge

of treason preferred against Joseph Rolette. Robert Dickson, the veteran Indian trader who had charge of Indian affairs in the west for His Majesty, accused him of using "seditious words, discourses tending to excite insurrection against his Majesty's Government—also illicit illegal and dangerous conduct towards the Indians his Majesty's allies." Rolette, writing to Captain Bulger, mentioned the services rendered by his brothers and himself and declared that he could not but feel hurt at the "abominable charge" against him. From the time that he first settled in that region, he stated, Dickson had tried to ruin him and his, and had actually ruined others who had not allowed him to assume an "authority unbecoming" over them. Captain Bulger replied that he intended to preside in person at the trial. He was astonished at the charge, he added, "but the duty I owe my Sovereign, acting here as his representative, rendered it totally impossible for me to avoid noticing it, had the person accused even been my own brother." And then, in a formal order, the captain directed the assembling of a military court of inquiry to try the case. In laughable contrast with the dignified wording of this document is a letter from Rolette asking in advance for permission to leave the trial "to draw flour or other articles," for his customers, when called home upon such business.

The verdict of the court was favorable to Rolette. Captain Bulger, in a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, declared that Dickson would never have preferred the charges had he not quarreled with Rolette.

Dickson's object, the captain added, was to ruin Rolette, not to serve the interests of his country. McDouall, in subsequent letters to Captain Bulger, termed Dickson's charge against Rolette "a vile and iniquitous conspiracy against his life," denounced Dickson in severe terms, even going to the length of declaring that Dickson lacked enterprise, energy and ability in conducting His Majesty's affairs among the Indians. In one letter he stated: "I dread the mischiefs which will result from the total want of economy and from the invariable havoc and waste made by that Timon of Athens—Dickson." In another letter he warned Captain Bulger to be "on his guard as to Dickson, that insidious, intriguing, dangerous yet despicable character." Dickson, in a measure, has borne in the West a reputation like that which Sir William Johnson had achieved in the East—of consummate ability to manage the savages in the interests of the British cause. The exceedingly adverse criticisms of his conduct which are contained in the letters of his two military superiors are therefore very surprising. The basis of the trouble seems to be somewhat deeper than the ill feeling that often prevailed between partisan leader and military martinet. Dickson himself strongly resented the feeling shown toward him. "Under God," he wrote to Captain Bulger, "my exertions have brought this country under the Dominion of Great Britain. Would I by my folly cause the loss of it? I have received the warm thanks from four General Officers for my services.

These are honors that the voice of calumny cannot pluck from me. They will descend with me to the grave."

A military execution was another incident of British occupation of Fort McKay. Two French subjects of the King were treacherously murdered by a Sioux named Chunksah. His chiefs surrendered him to the British and Captain Bulger summoned a court-martial of which he appointed Dickson president. The court found the Indian guilty and recommended that he be shot. This sentence was carried out in the presence of many Indians. The moral effect upon them seemed to be very gratifying. Several days later the villagers united in sending to Captain Bulger a letter expressing their appreciation of his general conduct and particularly of his administration "of justice in a savage territory."

About the middle of April, 1815, Captain Bulger received from Governor Clark, of St. Louis, a letter stating that peace between the United States and Great Britain had been restored. The treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent on the 24th of the previous December. Before the arrival of the news of peace, however, Captain Bulger, determined to foil an American expedition, which, according to two Frenchmen who had escaped from St. Louis, would be organized against Fort McKay early in the spring, had been busily preparing to carry the war into the vicinity of St. Louis. Twelve hundred Indians of different tribes, all of them equipped for war, had arrived at Fort McKay; councils had been held and advance parties of the savages had actually started for St. Louis. The main force was on

the point of following them when the news of peace came. The war parties were promptly recalled, a step that caused indignation among the Indians, which increased when they learned that in the treaty of peace Great Britain had made no provision for the "restoration of certain hunting grounds of which they had been unjustly dispossessed by the Americans." This fact was very mortifying to Captain Bulger, who had told the Indians only a month before, upon the authority of the commander of the British forces, that negotiations had been broken off by the British because the Americans would not consent to restore the lands in question. The Indians became so angry that open hostility toward the garrison was feared and for almost a fortnight the troops remained under arms. The chiefs finally calmed their followers.

It was not until May 20th, that Captain Bulger received official word of the restoration of peace. It came in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, the commandant at Mackinac. The captain at once arranged to communicate the declaration of peace to the Indians, which, with much ceremony, he did two days later. At one end of the council house, located almost a quarter of a mile from the fort, a platform was erected under the opening which served the double purpose of window and chimney, and upon this raised station was placed a chair for the commanding officer. To the right of the platform, a flagstaff, running up through the opening, had been erected, the halyards being within convenient reach from the chair. Captain Bulger, just before

starting for the council house, informed the troops within the fort that his own life, as well as the lives of those in his immediate party, might be sacrificed during the ceremony with the Indians. The troops were told to remain under arms at the fort and to keep the gate closed. It was arranged that if the Indians made any hostile movement during the council, Captain Bulger was to seize the halyards and lower the flag, as a signal for the artillery to begin firing upon the savages. He and his companions hoped to escape in the excitement that would follow. The commandant was accompanied to the council house by Captain Anderson and several other officers and they soon found themselves in the midst of a very large body of Indians. Seventy chiefs and principal warriors formed three sides of a square opening in front of the platform. When Captain Bulger had taken his seat, a gun from the fort announced the opening of the council. An interpreter spread out a great belt of wampum such as had been used to call out the tribes in 1812. At that time it had been red, to represent war, but now it was blue, meaning peace. A message in the name of the King, their Great Father, was announced at this point, the flag was immediately run up over the council house, and from the fort a royal salute of twenty-one guns were fired. Then Captain Anderson read the terms of peace. The chiefs replied in turn, most of them accepting the situation calmly, even cheerfully. The pipe of peace was then smoked and the ceremony ended with another salute from the fort.

Two days later Captain Bulger evacuated Fort McKay, and led his command back to Mackinac, taking the guns of the fort, which he surrendered to the American government at Mackinac. This act ended British rule in Wisconsin.

FOR almost fifty years after the Revolution and before she obtained a status and a name of her own, as a territory, Wisconsin was simply a part of other territories, the Northwest, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan successively. In 1836, when she became a territory in her own right, her jurisdiction included her present domain as well as that of Iowa and Minnesota and part of the Dakotas.

If a suggestion made by Thomas Jefferson to the Congress, in 1784, had been adopted, ten states would have been carved out of the Northwest Territory, and Wisconsin would be known as Michigania, while the State of Sylvania would lie to the north of a line drawn east and west some little distance above the mouths of the Menominee and St. Croix Rivers. South of a line drawn from or near Milwaukee west to the Mississippi would be the State of Assenisipia, whose southern boundary would be as far south of the head of Lake Michigan as Milwaukee is north of it. Just north of Assenisipia there was planned another state to which Jefferson sought to give the name of Illinoia. What is now the lower peninsula of Michigan formed another state in Jefferson's plan and its name was Chersonesus. This plan, except the names, was approved by the Congress, but the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 settled on a different basis and for all time the future of the Northwest Territory.

Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor of the Northwest Territory in October, 1787. He was a

Scotchman by birth. He had been one of Washington's generals, but in the military service he had never risen above the line of mediocrity. He was patriotic, high-minded and conscientious, however, and Washington held him in high esteem. The Ohio Company, soon after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, had purchased 1,500,000 acres of land in Ohio. In April, 1788, Marietta, on the bank of the Muskingum, was founded by General Rufus Putnam and forty-eight other settlers. The town was named in honor of Marie Antoinette, the Queen of France. Near by was Fort Harmar, which for a time was Governor St. Clair's headquarters. The Governor, however, soon chose Cincinnati as the seat of government. The Miami Company, controlled by John Cleves Symmes, one of the original judges of the Northwest Territory, completed in 1787 the purchase of a million acres of land in Ohio, and formed three small settlements, including Cincinnati. St. Clair himself christened the new seat of government.

The British, eager to retain the fur trade of the Great Lakes, encouraged the Indians in their desire to bar the Americans from the Northwest, and the result was armed conflict between the settlers and the savages. President Washington, at the head of a weak young government whose funds were meagre, desired peace with the savages, but was forced to support the frontiersmen. The settlers and their representatives were loud in their appeals for help. Early in 1791 the settlements near Marietta were raided by Indians and a dozen persons, including a woman and two children, were killed.



Wm. Blair

The New England settlers, unused to war and taken by surprise, inflicted no damage upon the attacking force. Even Cincinnati, under the guns of Fort Washington, suffered at the hands of lurking savages. In 1791 all the Indian nations of the Northwest went upon the warpath. Massacres were frequent. It was decided to put into the field a mixed force of regulars, special levies and militia. Governor St. Clair was appointed to command the army as major-general. He was autocratic in manner, unskilled in Indian warfare, and the feeling between him and those frontiersmen who were experienced Indian fighters was unfriendly in the extreme. For them he had nothing but contempt, while they disliked him. They lacked confidence in his ability and that of the regulars to cope with the savages, whose wiles and strategy they well knew. He, on the other hand, viewed their fighting ability with the feeling that the regular army officer always entertains toward undisciplined forces. In May, 1791, Brigadier-General Scott, at the head of eight hundred Kentuckians, crossed the Ohio and advanced against the Indians of the Wabash, in order to prevent them from joining the Miami Indians, whom St. Clair was to attack. Scott, a seasoned fighter, did not take his quarry entirely by surprise, but he killed thirty-two of the savages, took two score prisoners, mostly women and children, burned several towns and destroyed a great deal of growing corn. In August General Wilkinson, who later became notorious by reason of his relations to Aaron Burr, repeated Scott's achievement.

General St. Clair's army was doomed to defeat. It consisted of two small regiments of regulars, two regiments of special levies, mostly raw recruits, and some Kentucky militia, a few cavalry and two small light batteries. The army assembled at Fort Hamilton, a new post about twenty-five miles north of Cincinnati, and started for the Indian towns early in October. The advance was tedious. St. Clair, ill and discouraged, was no fit commander. He did not take the precautions that were needed to protect his army against the cunning foe. When within fifty miles of the Miami towns, St. Clair sent one of his regiments of regulars back to overtake and to capture sixty militiamen who had deserted. The army went into camp on the west fork of the Wabash on the 3rd of November. In the morning, right after parade, the savages, some of whom had been seen and fired upon during the night, made a sudden attack upon the militia, who were a quarter of a mile away from the rest of the forces and on the other side of a creek. The militia resisted for a few brief moments and then fled in disorder to the camp of the regulars. All the regulars sprang to arms. A heavy volley of musketry checked the Indians, but only for a moment, for they speedily surrounded the camp, drove in the pickets and began firing from shelter of log and tree upon the soldiers, who were massed in the open. The savages advanced under cover of the musketry fire from the camp and at close quarters they shot down or tomahawked bewildered troops. St. Clair and Butler, brave as men could be, did their utmost to rally them. St.

Clair's clothes were pierced by bullets in eight places and Butler was first shot in the arm and then mortally wounded in the side. The artillerymen suffered severely, all the officers being killed, except one, and he was wounded, while most of the privates were killed or disabled. The Indians, made bold by success, tried to seize the artillery, but they were in the open now, and St. Clair led a bayonet charge that drove them back. Other bayonet charges followed and in one of them Colonel Darke found his command cut off from the main body. He had to fight his way back, and in doing so was wounded and lost most of his men. The Indians repeated these tactics, eluding the bayonet only to ambush the soldiers or to return to the attack as soon as the soldiers drew back. This continued for several hours and the soldiers became demoralized. St. Clair decided that in retreat lay the only hope of saving the remnant of his army. The guns were spiked, many wounded abandoned and the troops were ordered to charge in order to regain the road, from which they had been cut off. This charge was led by Colonel Darke, backed by the boldest of the soldiers that remained, and it opened a way to the road. The troops in the rear pressed frantically forward and, gaining the road, went farther in maddened rout. The Indians were pressing upon the rear and the army became a mob. St. Clair tried to stop the stampede, but in vain. The men threw away their weapons, the strong paying no heed to the weak or to the wounded, even to the few women who had followed the army. The command would probably

have been wiped out had not the Indians, tempted by the spoils of the camp, turned back to it after pursuing the army for a distance of about four miles. The loss was more than six hundred killed and almost three hundred wounded. The survivors, overtaking the regiment of regulars that St. Clair had so unfortunately sent back after deserters, did not feel safe until they had reached the walls of Fort Washington, at Cincinnati. Little Turtle, a Miami chief, is said to have commanded the Indians in this engagement. Chippewa from the north took part in the battle.

The defeat of St. Clair was a severe blow to the nation and particularly to General Washington. He had warned St. Clair against surprise and his rage was great when he heard how his advice had been neglected. To make matters worse, it became necessary to sue for peace with the Indians. Poverty and sectional jealousy, together with Eastern unwillingness to continue the war, resulted in sending a flag of truce to the Indians in the spring of 1792. Colonel John Hardin and Major Alexander Trueman, the messengers, were treacherously slain by the Indians, who at first pretended to receive them in friendship. Nevertheless, overtures of peace, all of them humiliating, were continued by the government. The Iroquois, headed by Brant, who was in the pay of the British, advised the Northwestern savages to reject all offers of peace. The British authorities, who still held Detroit, openly encouraged this policy. They even built a fort at the Maumee Rapids, on American soil, and sent infantry and artillery to garrison it. Washing-

ton protested without avail. The Indians, bolder than ever, increased their ravages, killing settlers on the frontier and waylaying immigrants as they descended the Ohio in boats.

"Mad Anthony" Wayne, major general, was chosen to succeed St. Clair in command of the army. He proved himself to be just the man required by the situation. He arrived at the Ohio in June, 1792. To the remnant of St. Clair's army he added recruits as fast as they could be enlisted and sent to him under new laws which the Congress had enacted. In camp below Pittsburg, during the winter, he drilled his men, determined to make good soldiers out of unpromising material. The next spring he moved farther down the river, and the next winter he encamped at Greenville about eighty miles north of Cincinnati. From this point he sent forward a strong force to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, where he erected Fort Recovery. There were constant skirmishes, with varying results, between detachments of troops and the Indians. In June, 1794, two thousand savages, including many from the Upper Lakes, set out to attack Fort Recovery. They surprised fifty dragoons and ninety riflemen who were camped just outside of the walls. A score of the American troops were killed, but when the savages attacked the fort itself, the garrison, with the aid of the other soldiers who had taken refuge within its walls, repulsed them with severe loss. They lost heart and dispersed.

Three weeks afterwards General Anthony was reinforced at Greenville by a large body of mounted volun-

teers from Kentucky, of whom General Scott was in command, and toward the end of July he led his army, now three thousand strong, toward the Miami towns. He moved with celerity and yet with the utmost caution. He was always prepared against ambush and surprise, keeping the scouts well out during the march and protecting his camp at night by using fallen trees as breast-works.

After building a fort at the confluence of the Glaze and Maumee Rivers, Wayne pushed on to the Maumee Rapids, where the new British fort was located. The Indians, encamped at Fallen Timbers, six miles down the river from the fort, were from fifteen hundred to two thousand strong, including Hurons, Ottawa, Chipewewa and Potawatomi. From three to four score white men, including French and British rangers and American renegades, were in camp with the savages. It was August 20th, when the American commander delivered his attack. His army marched down the north branch of the Maumee. The Indian line, almost two miles long, was at right angles to the river. The savages actually drove in the volunteers, who formed Wayne's vanguard, but he ordered a large body of infantry to advance and at the same time directed the regular cavalry to charge the enemy's left flank. The infantry, attacking with vigor, routed the Indians at the point of the bayonet. The cavalry, though it suffered heavily in getting through a grove of trees, and lost its commander, Captain Campbell, soon reached favorable ground and put the savages to flight. A second body of infantry and

Scott's mounted volunteers were not able to take any part in the fighting, so quickly did the engagement end.

The American loss was thirty-three killed and about a hundred wounded. The Indians suffered more heavily, their dead probably numbering from three score to a hundred. Eight Huron chiefs were among the slain. Wayne destroyed the Indian villages and corn fields and burned the houses of the British agent and traders up to the very walls of the British fort. The British commander did not dare fire upon the Americans, and Wayne, on the other hand, knew that it was not good policy to attack the fort. Wayne built Fort Wayne at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Rivers, and in it spent the winter. This decisive defeat produced an effect upon the Indians, especially as the British showed no disposition to help them in any active manner, and soon Wayne was asked for peace. A definite treaty with the Northwestern tribes was made at Greenville during the summer of 1795, and peace reigned along the frontier until just before the War of 1812.

The Congress of the United States, May 7th, 1800, ordered a division of the Northwest Territory. It provided that from and after the Fourth day of July of that year, all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery and thence north to Canada, should constitute a separate territory and be called Indiana Terri-

tory. The old territory was to retain the name Northwest, with Chillicothe as its seat, while Vincennes was to be the seat of the new territory. By this division the eastern half of southern Michigan and even a little section of Northern Michigan, were retained in the old territory, while all of what is now Wisconsin was transferred to Indiana Territory. By act approved February 19th, 1803, the State of Ohio was formally admitted to the Union, but the region lying north of a line extending from a line drawn east from the head of Lake Michigan was added to Indiana Territory. By act approved January 11th, 1805, the territory lying north of this line, together with that part of the Upper Peninsula lying east of the meridian of Mackinac, became the Territory of Michigan. The southern boundary was "a line drawn east from the southerly bend, or extreme, of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie," being the boundary recognized by the Ordinance of 1787. The makers of the constitution of Ohio, who had followed a map that placed the southern bend of Lake Michigan at $42^{\circ} 20'$, heard at the last moment that the head of Lake Michigan extended farther south, and so they adopted a resolution providing that if this proved to be a fact, then "with the assent of the congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this state shall be established by, and extending to, a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of Miami Bay." The southern end of Lake Michigan is $41^{\circ} 37' 07.9''$. Hence a dispute that arose some years later between Ohio and

Michigan over that part of Ohio which includes Toledo and the mouth of the Miami River. Michigan claimed this tract on the ground that the Ordinance was a compact that could not be broken except by common consent, while Ohio clung to the Chillicothe proviso. The strip is six miles wide, on an average, and it contains 468 square miles. A survey made in 1832 placed the north cape of Maumee Bay in $41^{\circ} 44' 02.4''$. In 1835 this dispute between Ohio and Michigan became serious and an armed conflict seemed to be more or less likely. The trouble was not settled until 1837, when Michigan, being admitted as a state, the strip was given to Ohio and, in compensation, the Northern Peninsula was added to Michigan.

William Henry Harrison, who had been "Mad Anthony's" aide-de-camp during the campaign that terminated with the Battle of Fallen Timbers, was the first governor of Indiana Territory. In 1799 he had been elected a delegate to the Congress from the Northwest Territory. A descendant of Cromwellian warriors, and the son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Harrison became governor of the largest part of the Northwest at a time when his ability and his sympathy with the fast-growing section were needed. The number of white settlers and soldiers in the new territory was 5,641, while the population of the Ohio division was nine times as great. He understood the settlers and their needs and was popular among them.

The first years of General Harrison's administration of the government of Indiana Territory were years

of peace. He took advantage of these conditions to negotiate treaties with the Indians for the cession of some of their land and his success was so marked that later it caused hostilities to break out anew. The Miami nation ceded two million acres, and the Kaskaskias and the Piankeshaws surrendered great tracts about the same time. A belief that the Americans were planning to acquire their hunting grounds piece-meal grew to a conviction among the Indians. Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees, set about to stop the wholesale intrusion, a task for which he was better qualified than any other Indian of his time. He was wise as well as wily, statesman-like as well as crafty. He saw far into the future. His comprehension was broad, and his methods were practical. His was the ablest mind, his the most formidable state-craft, than any Indian chief in the West has displayed since the fateful time of Pontiac. The policy that he adopted to keep the white man and his axe out of the Indian domain was worthy of a modern captain of industry. He realized that the Americans obtained cessions of land by bringing pressure upon one nation at a time, or rather upon the chiefs of that nation, and he took steps to form a confederacy that would prevent the disposal of any land by a single nation without the consent of all the other nations which might be members of the confederacy. In the spring of 1808 Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, established their headquarters on the banks of the Tippecanoe, a small tributary of the Wabash. To that point went representatives of many of the nations and thence

radiated Tecumseh's spirit and policy. By 1810 the number of whites in the territory had reached 24,520, and they were operating grist mills, saw mills, tanneries and distilleries, Tecumseh's hostility to them increased, because of their growing strength, but he gave no open sign of it. His brother, in whose prophetic powers the Indians believed, foretold the expulsion of the white settlers, while Tecumseh perfected his organization to that end. British agents, now more hostile than ever to the Americans, did everything in their power to foster the enmity of the Indians toward the settlers. Early in the fall of 1811 General Harrison, aroused by the machinations of the Prophet, led against Tippecanoe a force that included the Fourth Infantry. Tecumseh was among the Cherokees at the time, endeavoring to strengthen his confederacy. He had given the Prophet orders not to open hostilities, but on the morning of November 7th, before dawn, a large number of Indians attacked the Americans in flank and drove in the sentinels. Soon there was a general engagement that reached the camp itself. The fires within the camp helped the Indians to use their guns with deadly effect. General Harrison, seeing this, ordered his men to extinguish the fires. This was done and then, in the dark, soldiers and Indians fought, slashing and shooting one another. When daylight came, the Americans charged upon the Indians, who stood their ground well for a little time, but finally fled. The American loss was 37 killed and 151 wounded. The Indians did not suffer so heavily. Tecumseh, who had been waiting for sub-

stantial help from the British before opening hostilities, was furious at the Prophet for bringing on an engagement prematurely. The most important result of the Battle of Tippecanoe was its effect upon Tecumseh's confederacy. He and his cause lost prestige and the confederacy was no longer to be feared.

Meanwhile, on February 3rd, 1809, the president approved an act of Congress creating the Territory of Illinois. It embraced that portion of Indiana Territory lying west of the lower Wabash River and the meridian of Vincennes. This division left in Indiana Territory most of what is now Door County, in Wisconsin, and the eastern half of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Illinois included the present state of Illinois and Wisconsin, the western half of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi. Ninian Edwards, Chief Justice of Kentucky, was appointed governor of the new territory. It was organized in March and in June Mr. Edwards assumed his new position, Kaskaskia being the seat of his government. La Pointe, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and Milwaukee were all within his jurisdiction.

Tecumseh, who enlisted in the British cause when the War of 1812 was imminent, had endeavored to persuade Wisconsin Indians to join his confederacy and had planned the destruction of Fort Dearborn, the American post at Chicago, and the massacre of the few white people who lived near that post. The house of John Kinzie, earliest of Chicago homes, was situated

on the north bank of the Chicago River, near its mouth and directly opposite Fort Dearborn. On the evening of April 7th, 1812, he was playing his violin while the children were dancing before the fire when Mrs. Kinzie, pale and frightened, rushed in with the news that the Winnebago were slaying and scalping at the place of one Lee, four miles up the river, on the south branch. Mrs. Kinzie, in responding to a sick call, had gone to the home of a neighbor named Burns, a quarter of a mile up the river, and was there when a man and boy who had escaped from Lee's gave the alarm. Kinzie hurried his family into the fort. Ensign Ronan and six soldiers rescued the Burns family, including the mother and new-born babe. The next morning soldiers and settlers who visited the Lee place found the mutilated bodies of a man named White, who occupied the farm, and a Frenchman who had been in his employ. It was afterward ascertained that the murderers had planned to scalp everybody outside of the fort, but had been frightened off by the booming of a gun fired to summon back to the fort some soldiers who were fishing two miles above Lee's place at the time when White and the Frenchman were killed.

Weeks of suspense followed. There was little open demonstration of hostility on the part of the Indians, but the white settlers feared bloodshed at any time. All were alert, anxious. Finally, on August 7th, Winne-meg, a Potawatomi chief, arrived from Detroit with a letter from General Hull announcing war between Great Britain and the United States and directing Captain

Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn, "if practicable," and to distribute the government property among the Indians of the neighborhood. Winnemeg strongly advised remaining at the fort until reinforcements could be sent, but he said that if it were decided to evacuate, the step should be taken at once. A forced march to Fort Wayne might be made, he urged, before any hostile Indians were prepared to molest them. Mr. Kinzie gave similar advice. Captain Heald, however, declared that he could not leave the post until he had distributed the property among the Indians. At parade the next morning the order for evacuating the post was read. No council of war had been called and the officers, fearful of the results of unwise action, called upon their commander for an explanation of his plans. They expostulated with him, pointed out the danger of massacre if the soldiers and settlers left the shelter of the fort and unanimously recommended staying within the stronghold. Their action was in vain. Meanwhile the Indians became more and more turbulent. One of them, to show his contempt of the garrison, discharged his rifle in the commanding officer's parlor. On the afternoon of the 12th, at a council to which his officers refused to accompany him, Captain Heald told them that the next day he intended to distribute among them the ammunition, provisions and other goods stored within the fort. Mr. Kinzie prevailed upon him to destroy the ammunition, instead of giving it to the savages, who, at the first opportunity, would very likely use it against the garrison. The other property was distributed

the following day. The liquor was poured into the river, and the ammunition was destroyed. The Indians complained bitterly of these measures and their actions became more threatening than ever.

On the morning of the 15th, at 9 o'clock, the fort was evacuated. As the troops, carrying only twenty-five rounds of ammunition, marched out, the band played the Dead March. At their head were Captain Wells, a noted Indian fighter, who, with fifteen friendly Miami, had arrived at the fort too late to persuade the commander to remain within its walls, too late even to save the ammunition that the troops might need. Civilians, men, women and children, marched or rode with the troops. The march had continued about one and a half miles, when, amid sandhills that lay between the lake and the prairie, the escort of five hundred Potawatomi began firing upon the devoted band. Ensign Ronan, who had been on bad terms with Captain Heald and had strongly opposed evacuating the fort, was mortally wounded almost at the first fire, but he supported himself on one knee and continued fighting to the last. The Surgeon, Dr. Van Voorhees, was shot in the leg and afterward tomahawked. Captain Heald was wounded twice, but not seriously. He and his wife were taken prisoners, but their lives were spared. The young wife of Lieutenant Helm, a step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie, was rescued from the tomahawk by Black Partridge. Her husband was saved. The officers and Mr. Kinzie later became prisoners of the British. Mr. Kinzie had tried to save the troops and settlers by

marching out of the fort with them. The Indians were very friendly to Mr. Kinzie, and he felt that his presence in the line might prevent a massacre. He knew that the Indians would not attack the members of his family, who staid behind. The survivors, including soldiers and women and children, were distributed among the Potawatomi villages at Milwaukee and upon the Rock, Wabash and Illinois Rivers. The following spring most of them were ransomed at Detroit. Mr. Kinzie and his family returned to Chicago in 1816 and became identified with its early development.

The British, soon in control of Wisconsin and Michigan, as well as of Northern Illinois, expected, with the aid of their Indian allies, to sweep the Americans entirely out of the Northwest. To do this they relied greatly upon Tecumseh and he became very active in their interest. Indians attacked Fort Harrison, which was defended by Captain Zachary Taylor, and they even tried to capture Fort Wayne. Harrison, at the head of 2,000 Kentucky troops and 700 Ohio volunteers, advanced to the relief of Fort Wayne. The besiegers fled when they heard that he was coming. General Hopkins, at the head of 2,000 Kentucky volunteers, relieved Fort Harrison.

Appointed commander-in-chief of the United States in the Northwest under date of September 17th, 1812, General Harrison, backed by the confidence of the backwoodsmen, took the field in force early in the following year. His army was to consist of ten thousand volunteers from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and

Indiana, together with a regiment of regulars. The desire to enlist under his command was so great that the quota was soon full and many frontiersmen were disappointed in consequence. To him and his army was assigned the task of retaking Detroit and invading Canada. He promptly took steps to this end. At the Maumee Rapids he erected Fort Meigs. While awaiting the assembling of his army he was attacked by General Proctor and Tecumseh, with 600 British regulars, 800 Canadian militia and 1,800 Indians. The fighting that followed was fierce, but the enemy retired after being attacked by a fresh body of 1,200 Kentuckians, under General Clay Green. About 500 of these were killed in ambush by Indians after they had virtually won the day for the Americans.

Commodore Perry, soon after his great naval victory, assisted General Harrison in landing his 3,000 troops on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, near its mouth. They took possession of Malden September 27th, and then pushed on in pursuit of Proctor and Tecumseh and their force. They overtook them October 5th, and the Battle of the Thames followed. Commodore Perry served under Harrison as a volunteer aid-de-camp, and the venerable Governor Shelby of Kentucky fought with great vigor and heroism. The defeat of the British was decisive. Tecumseh, who held a commission as brigadier-general in the British army, was slain on the field.

When, in 1819, Indiana was admitted to the Union, her northern boundary, in violation of the Ordinance

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of 1787, was established on a line ten miles north of the extreme head of the lake. She wanted access to the lake over her own territory, and as there was no important town involved, like Toledo in the dispute with Ohio, Michigan did not offer any energetic opposition to this unwarranted deprivation of territory. The Illinois statehood act of 1818 gave that commonwealth the boundaries that it possesses at the present time, and it added all of what is now Wisconsin, as well as eastern Minnesota and Northern Michigan to the Territory of Michigan. In June, 1834, the Congress added to Michigan Territory, for temporary government, that portion of the Louisiana Purchase lying between the Mississippi River on the east and the Missouri and White Earth Rivers on the west. Thus the territory extended beyond the city of Bismarck.

CHAPTER IX
THE BLACK HAWK WAR

THE only Indian war of any magnitude which has taken place in Wisconsin since the inauguration of American rule, was that which bears the name of Black Hawk, a noted chief of the Sauk. It was fought on Wisconsin soil simply because Black Hawk and his followers fled from the vicinity of Rock Island, Illinois, where the trouble originated, and were pursued by regulars and militia into Wisconsin.

Five years before the Black Hawk war, however, there was a serious outbreak among the Winnebago. The first symptom of trouble in connection with these Indians was the massacre by them of a resident of Prairie du Chien, his prepossessing wife and five children—the Methode family—while they were making maple sugar about twelve miles north of that village. Their bodies, shockingly mutilated, together with the remains of their faithful dog, were found by friends who had become alarmed over their long absence. Winnebago Indians had been seen in the vicinity about the time that the murders were committed, and one of them is said to have confessed to the crime.

Two Winnebago accused of theft were taken to Fort Snelling when Fort Crawford was evacuated and soon the rumor spread among their tribesmen that they had been compelled to run the gauntlet through a party of Chippewa. The truth was that after the Sioux and the Chippewa had agreed to a treaty of peace at Fort Snelling, the Sioux treacherously fired into a wigwam, just outside the fort, occupied by Chippewa, several of whom

were killed. The commander of the post demanded the surrender of the guilty Sioux and decided that five of them should run the gauntlet. All were shot and killed by the Chippewa before they reached the goal. The Winnebago of Wisconsin believed that it was their own kin that had been treated in this manner and they resolved upon revenge. Red Bird, their chief, accompanied by two braves, We-Kau and Chic-hon-sic, visited the home of James Lockwood, ostensibly with a view to killing some of the inmates, but Mrs. Lockwood fled into her husband's store. Duncan Graham, an old British trader, was in the store and he persuaded the Indians to depart. The same day the three Indians visited the cabin of Rijeste Gagnier, two miles southeast of the village, and Red Bird shot and killed Gagnier, and in like manner one of his companions killed an old discharged soldier named Solomon Lipcap, who was making his home with the Gagniers. Mrs. Gagnier wrested his rifle from We-Kau and then fled with her elder child. When armed men, in response to her appeal, went to the cabin, they found that the younger child, a mere infant, had been scalped by We-Kau. She recovered, however, and became the mother of a family.

These incidents took place June 26th. On the same day two keelboats commanded by Captain Allen Lindsay were attacked by Winnebago as they were descending the Mississippi. On the boat's trip up to Fort Snelling, hostility had been shown by Sioux on the west side of the river, and, in order that the members of the

crew might protect themselves if attacked by Sioux on the way back to St. Louis, Colonel Snelling had lent muskets and given ammunition to them. They passed the site of Winona without being attacked by Sioux, and danger from that quarter was at an end. The two boats became separated in a strong wind. Two score Winnebago, concealed on an island just below the mouth of the Bad Axe, fired upon the foremost boat, the O. H. Perry, as it was passing between the island and the shore. One of the crew of sixteen men, a negro named Peter, was mortally wounded at the first volley, and a man named Stewart was instantly killed by the second volley. The boat was similar in construction to a canal boat and the fact that the men were below deck at the time of the attack accounts for the few casualties. After the second volley, the boat grounded on a sandbar and the Indians, determined to board the craft, made an attack in their canoes. Two occupants of one canoe were mortally wounded and their dying struggles upset the craft. Two savages actually boarded the keelboat, and in a hand-to-hand fight that ensued, Beauchamp, the commander, was slain. One of the Indians, the slayer of Beauchamp, was killed by Jack Mandeville, who assumed command of the boat. This Indian, musket in hand and with a bullet hole through his head, fell into the river, while the other savage fell into the boat. Mandeville and four of the crew jumped into the river to shove the boat off the sandbar, a task that they performed while bullets were flying thick and fast. Amid parting volleys on both sides, cries of rage and disap-

pointment by the Indians, and cheers by the crew, the boat got beyond shooting distance. Two men had been killed, two mortally wounded and two slightly wounded. The Indian losses were heavier. The other boat, commanded by Captain Lindsay in person, and having on board a son of Colonel Snelling, passed the island at night and was fired upon, but without effect, by the Indians. It has been repeatedly charged that in ascending the river, Captain Lindsay had captured six or seven drunken squaws, whom he forced to remain on board for immoral purposes, and that this injury to their women was the animus of the attack upon the boats which the Winnebago made during its voyage down the river. This story is not generally credited.

The bloody deeds of the Winnebago alarmed the residents of Prairie du Chien. They flocked to the shelter of the abandoned fort, which was quickly repaired. A military company, ninety strong, was organized. Thomas McNair was captain, Joseph Brisbois lieutenant and Jean Brunet ensign. The first thing that these officers did was to mount the old swivel and the wall pieces of the fort, and to put blacksmiths at work repairing condemned muskets which the regular garrison had left behind. Mr. Lockwood supplied the militiamen with plenty of powder and lead. Governor Cass, who had gone to Buttes des Morts to hold a council with the Winnebago, hurried to Prairie du Chien as soon as he heard of the trouble. He arrived at Prairie du Chien on the morning of the Fourth of July and formally mustered McNair's company into the service

of the United States. Hastening to Galena, he raised a volunteer company of which Abner Fields was captain and William S. Hamilton and a man named Smith lieutenants. To Captain Shields was assigned the command of Fort Crawford. In a few days, however, Colonel Snelling arrived from Fort Snelling with two companies of regulars and assumed command of the post. He discharged the Galena volunteers, but retained Captain McNair's company of home troops in the service until August. Governor Cass, bent upon leaving nothing undone to protect the settlers against the Indians, went on to St. Louis, where he conferred with General Atkinson, in command of the Western military department, with the result that the General himself moved up the Mississippi with as large a force as he could spare for the purpose. Major Whistler, with the garrison of Fort Howard, and sixty-two Oneida and Stockbridge Indians, who had volunteered at the solicitation of Ebenezer Child and Joseph Dickinson, ascended the Fox River and encamped at the site of Portage, where Fort Winnebago was erected during the following year. A force of more than a hundred mounted volunteers, organized in the lead mining region by Colonel Henry Dodge, scoured both sides of the Wisconsin River, driving the Indians before them. With Major Whistler's force stationed at the Portage, Colonel Snelling's command at the mouth of the Wisconsin, Dodge's volunteers close upon their heels and General Atkinson's expedition following up the line of their retreat, the Winnebago were in a desperate situation.

Finally, at the Portage, they decided to ask for mercy. Behind them were Atkinson and Dodge and before them, not a mile away, was Major Whistler's command. Major Whistler and his officers saw thirty Indians approaching. In advance were three Indians, two of them bearing United States flags, and another, Red Bird himself, who was between the other two, holding aloft a white flag. They bore no arms. Red Bird was singing his death song. Six feet tall, a manly, graceful figure, he was clad in elkskin, white and soft and beautiful. The jacket was ornamented with fringe of the same material, the sleeves cut to fit his arm, while the leggings were fringed with beads. Around his neck he wore strands of blue wampum alternating with strands of white wampum. To his breast was tied his huge war pipe, ornamented with dyed horse hair and the feathers and bills of birds. In one hand he bore the flag of truce and in the other he carried the pipe of peace. His face was noble, even winning, while his bearing was full of firmness and dignity. The head men of the Winnebago expressed the hope that the officers would accept horses in compensation for the blood which had been shed, and requested that in any event the prisoners should not be put in irons. They were assured that the captives would not be shackled. Red Bird then arose and faced the commanding officer. "I am ready," he said, "but"—advancing a step or two—"I do not want to be put in irons. I have given away my life like that"—taking some dust between thumb and finger and blowing it away—"and I would not take it back. It is gone."

The prisoners were delivered to General Atkinson, who arrived upon the scene soon afterward. Red Bird died in prison at Prairie du Chien. His two accomplices were convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged, but were pardoned by President Adams. Thus ended the Winnebago outbreak. On the whole, little blood was shed, but results might have been serious if the steps to suppress the uprising had not been so energetic and effective.

The uprising of the Sauk under Black Hawk was a war in every sense of the word. The territory covered by the hostilities was large indeed, and several battles were fought. In the end the savages were almost exterminated. The war was the result of wrongs suffered by Black Hawk and his village. On November 3rd, 1804, the confederacy of the Sauk and their allies, the Foxes, ceded to the United States about fifty million acres of land. This domain may be roughly described as the territory lying between the Wisconsin River on the north, the Fox River of Illinois on the east, the Mississippi on the west and the Illinois on the southeast, as well as the northern part of Missouri—about a third of that state. For this immense tract the United States bound itself to pay the confederacy an annuity of a thousand dollars. Within this territory, on the north bank of the Rock River, about three miles from Rock Island, was the Sauk village in which Black Hawk was born in 1767, and of which he became leader by common consent. However, his prominence among Western Indian chiefs is due to circumstances in which he was placed

rather than to any marked ability that he possessed. He lacked the intellectuality and the statesmanship that Pontiac and Tecumseh had shown in their days. His jealousy of fellow chieftains showed the mediocre character of his ability. He was supreme in his own village only—he never became the head and front of the Sauk and Fox confederacy.

In appearance he was the opposite of Red Bird. The Winnebago chief was stalwart, symmetrical and graceful. Black Hawk was of spare build and only five feet and four or five inches high. His cheek bones were prominent even for an Indian. But his was a high, full forehead; his nose was pronouncedly Roman; his eyes, piercing at times, were generally kindly or thoughtful in expression, and his pose was one of simple dignity. His was known as the "British band of Sauk." He and his followers had been enrolled under Tecumseh during the War of 1812 and took part in the Battle of the Thames. He did not make peace with the Americans until 1816. For some years afterward the chief incident in his life each year was a visit to the British post at Malden, where he always received presents of provisions, arms, ammunition and other articles coveted by Indians.

In their rude manner the residents of Black Hawk's village cultivated about three thousand acres of land lying north of the town and parallel with the Mississippi. It was rich alluvial soil and it yielded corn and other crops in abundance. The village numbered five hundred families, it being one of the largest Indian com-



BLACK HAWK.

munities in the West. The fertile land so near by was the village's chief means of subsistence. The treaty of 1804 provided that the Sauk and Foxes might dwell and hunt upon the ceded territory so long as the land remained public land. However, in 1823, where the land around the village had not even been surveyed, and when the line of frontier settlement was still fifty miles or more to the eastward, squatters, without shadow of right, began taking possession of Black Hawk's field. The intruders fenced in Indian cornfields and whipped squaws and children who ventured within the enclosures. The newcomers whipped Black Hawk himself, took possession of his wigwam and burned other wigwams. In the spring of 1830 Black Hawk returned to find his village dismantled and many graves of his tribe plowed over. It was an old burying ground and they revered the spot on that account. Black Hawk was entitled to possession of his village under the clause in the treaty of 1804 which allowed him and his people to live within the ceded territory until the United States sold the land. Although he himself had in later treaties reaffirmed the provisions of the cession of 1804, he now set up the claim that his village was not included in it. The British agent at Malden told him to hold fast to his village, and White Cloud, sometimes called the Prophet, half Winnebago and half Sauk, who was at the head of the Winnebago village thirty-five miles up the Rock River, and who gained much influence over Black Hawk, encouraged him to resist. Finally, in the spring of 1831, when he sought to return to his own village and

the settlers warned him away, he told them that if they did not remove voluntarily, he would resort to force to compel them to do so. The settlers appealed to Governor John Reynolds of Illinois. They were in danger of being massacred, they said, and they begged him to save them. Sixteen hundred volunteers, called out by the Governor, on June 25th, joined with ten companies of regulars, commanded by General Edmund P. Gaines, in a demonstration against Black Hawk's village. In the face of this superior force, the Indians withdrew during the night to the west bank of the Mississippi and five days later they signed a treaty by which they agreed not to return to the east side of the river, except with the national government's express consent.

During the previous year the Menominee had slain some of Black Hawk's followers and now Black Hawk and a war party revenged themselves by killing and scalping all except one of twenty-eight Menominee whom they found upon an island almost opposite Prairie du Chien. General Joseph Street, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, demanded that the murderers of the Menominee be surrendered to him, as provided by treaty, but the Menominee murderers of Black Hawk's followers had never been surrendered to Black Hawk, and now he refused to comply with the demand made by General Street. Not only that, but relying too much upon representations made to him by Neapope, his second in command, that Winnebago, Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi were sure to hasten to his assistance,

he adopted the suggestion of White Cloud to re-cross the Mississippi, proceed to that chief's town and plant a crop of corn preparatory to beginning war against the settlers in the fall. On April 6th, 1832, five hundred warriors, mostly Sauk, took the fatal step with him. The scene of the crossing was the Yellow Banks, below the mouth of the Rock River. The Potawatomi were divided over the question of joining forces with Black Hawk, but Shaubena, a prominent chief, not only kept them quiet, but in person warned the settlers that war was threatened all along the Rock River Valley. Some of the settlers fled, never to return to the territory, but others joined the state troops and still others built stockades and made other plans for mutual defense. General Armstrong, whom the Indians called White Beaver, had just reached Fort Armstrong, with only one company of regulars to enforce it, and was about to demand the surrender of the Sauk who had slain the party of the Menominee near Prairie du Chien. It was April 13th when he heard of the invasion and he immediately sent word to Governor Reynolds that his own force was so small that it would be necessary to enlist volunteers. Governor Reynolds lost no time in complying with this request and soon sixteen hundred volunteers, all except three hundred of whom were mounted, were organized. They formed four regiments, commanded by Colonel John Thomas, Jacob Fry, Abraham B. Hewitt and Samuel M. Thompson. In addition, a battalion of scouts was commanded by Major James D. Henry, while Majors Thomas James

and Thomas Long commanded odd battalions. The entire force was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Samuel Whiteside. Governor Reynolds went with his troops and received the pay of a major-general. General Atkinson was in supreme command.

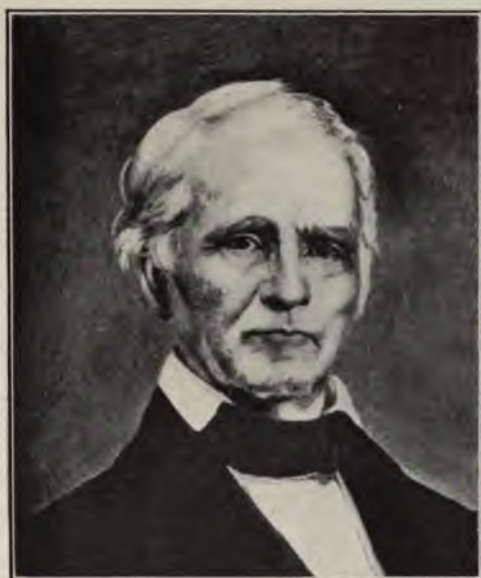
Whiteside led the mounted volunteers up the east bank of the Rock River. Atkinson, with four hundred regulars commanded by Colonel Zachary Taylor, as well as the foot volunteers, followed in boats carrying cannon, provisions and most of the baggage. When White Cloud's village was reached, it was found to be deserted. Whiteside continued to Dixon's Ferry, where he found two independent battalions, three hundred and forty-one men in all, commanded by Majors Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey. These men were volunteers in the strict sense of the word and they would not consent to perform any duty except that of rangers. They pushed ahead of Whiteside's army and on May 14th, they went into camp in a grove three miles southwest of the mouth of Sycamore Creek. At the mouth of that Creek, Black Hawk had just held a council with chiefs of the Potawatomi and had discovered that only about a hundred of the warriors of that nation were ready to join with him in a war against the whites. In the evening he heard of the camp which Stillman's men had established only three miles away. Convinced that he could not depend upon the aid which had been promised to him, and discouraged over the prospect, Black Hawk, in the belief that General Atkinson was in command of the camp in question, sent three men, bearing

a white flag, to ask for a parley. In his autobiography he states that it was his intention to return to the other side of the Mississippi River if General Atkinson would give him an opportunity to do so. When the bearers of the flag of truce reached a high knoll about a mile from Stillman's camp, they were seen by the troopers, who, unrestrained, perhaps under the influence of liquor, rode toward them in a mad sort of way, surrounded them and took them into camp. Five other warriors, sent by Black Hawk to watch the progress of his messengers, and to observe developments, were discovered by twenty of the troopers, who dashed after them. Two of these Indians and one messenger were killed. The other messengers escaped from the camp. When Black Hawk learned of the attack upon the bearers of his flag of truce, he was filled with rage and indignation. He tore the flag of truce to shreds and told the forty braves who were with him that they must punish the white troopers for their treachery. This little band rode out to meet Stillman's men, but, seeing them approaching in a confused mass, the Indians took up a position behind a fringe of trees. The troopers paused for a moment as they saw Black Hawk's grim warriors. Then, with a whoop, the Indians dashed forward to what Black Hawk himself deemed a suicidal charge. The troopers outnumbered his command by more than seven to one. Yet, in the first volley from the Indians, they fled in frantic fear. They dashed past their own camp, which they could easily have defended against a force far superior to the one pursuing them; they rode

wildly onward until they reached Whiteside's camp at Dixon's Ferry, and some did not even halt until they reached their own homes, miles and miles away from Black Hawk and his intrepid warriors. As they fled they spread confusion and alarm over most of northern Illinois. In the fight proper Black Hawk did not lose a single brave. Eleven of the troopers were killed on the field.

Black Hawk was elated over his unexpected victory and the capture of the camp stores. As the Americans could not respect his flag of truce, he concluded that it was folly to expect them to extend mercy to him, and so he planned to continue the conflict if necessary. He hurried the women and children of his camp up the Kishwaukee to Lake Koshkonong, nearer the headwaters of the Rock River, and then, reinforced by a number of Winnebago and Potawatomi, he returned southward to carry on war along the border.

The remnant of Stillman's command, left to guard the wounded and supplies at Dixon's Ferry, disgraced themselves again, proving recreant to their trust by going home. General Atkinson, leaving Whiteside and his fourteen hundred volunteers to follow Black Hawk up the Kishwaukee, returned to Dixon with the regulars. Then Whiteside's men declared that the Indians had hidden in swamps toward the north, where they could not be found, and that in any event they, the men of Illinois, could not be compelled to serve in Michigan Territory. The officers held a council and decided to abandon the campaign. On their way to Ottawa,



HENRY DODGE.



RELICS OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

Uniform worn by Gen Henry Dodge, preserved in the
Historical Museum at Madison.

where they were mustered out of service the last of May, they beheld in one place the mutilated remains of fifteen men, women and children who had been massacred by Indians. The murderers were thirty Potawatomi and three Sauk led by Michael Girty, a renegade. The lives of two daughters of William Hall were spared. They were Sylvia, seventeen years old, and Rachel, aged fifteen. They were sent to Black Hawk's camp above Lake Koshkonong. Henry Gratiot, one of the pioneers of the lead region, engaged White Crow, a Winnebago chief, to ransom them. The ransom was effected upon the basis of two thousand dollars in horses and trinkets. On June 3rd the girls were delivered to Gratiot at Blue Mounds.

Eleven Sauk warriors killed five white men at Spafford's farm, on the Pecatonica River, a locality which is now part of Lafayette County, Wisconsin. This took place June 14th. The next day Colonel Henry Dodge, at the head of twenty-nine men, overtook the Indians in a swamp not far from the scene of the massacre. In a battle that lasted only a few minutes every one of the savages was killed and scalped. Three of Dodge's men were killed and one was wounded. Black Hawk had divided his warriors into marauding parties and they were active in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. Colonel Henry Dodge assumed command of military operations north of the Illinois line and soon a number of forts were erected at points of danger in that region. These consisted for the most part of one

or two block-houses or stockades. They were located as follows:

Fort Union, at Colonel Dodge's residence, near Dodgeville. This was general headquarters.

Fort Defiance, at the farm of Daniel M. Parkinson, five miles southeast of Mineral Point.

Fort Jackson—At Mineral Point.

Fort Hamilton—At Hamilton's lead diggings, afterward called Wiota.

Mound Fort—South of the residence of Ebenezer Brigham, Blue Mounds.

Parish's Fort—At the farm of Thomas J. Parish, later called Wingville.

De Seelhorst's Fort—At the farm of Julius De Seelhorst, near Elk Grove.

In addition, there were stockades at Platteville, White Oak Springs, Gratiot's Grove, Old Shullsburg and other points.

Meanwhile Governor Reynolds' energy and General Atkinson's systematic work resulted in the organization of another army to cope with Black Hawk. It was a mounted force of thirty-two hundred volunteers, together with three hundred regulars, commanded by Colonel Zachary Taylor; about a hundred and fifty rangers, commanded by Colonel Henry Frye, who had been engaged in protecting the northern settlements of Illinois, and Colonel Henry Dodge's rangers, who joined the army at a later period. These rangers, two hundred strong, consisted of men from the "lead diggings" along the north line of Illinois. General Atkinson's army numbered about four thousand men. It was divided into brigades commanded by Generals Alexander

Posey, M. K. Alexander and James D. Henry. Each brigade was provided with a battalion of spies and this part of Posey's command was attacked at Kellogg's Grove by a number of Black Hawk's followers. General Posey and some of his volunteers took part in the fighting as soon as they could arrive upon the ground and the savages were defeated. Alexander's brigade was hurried from Dixon's to Plum River in order to prevent Black Hawk from recrossing the Mississippi at that point. Soon afterward, learning that Black Hawk was still at Lake Koshkonong, Atkinson, with the troops remaining at Dixon's, including Henry's brigade and the regulars, started up the east bank of Rock River. June 30th this expedition, passing a mile east of Beloit, crossed into what is now Wisconsin. Black Hawk had reached the Rock River, above the mouth of the Kishwaukee, some three or four days before. Atkinson hurried on upon his trail. The army arrived at the outlet of Lake Koshkonong July 2nd, only to find that the Sauk had fled. Two days later Alexander arrived with his brigade, which had been reinforced by Dodge's Michigan rangers and a company of Galena volunteers. A score of Menominee and white and half-breed scouts, commanded by Colonel William S. Hamilton, a prominent lead miner and a son of the famous Alexander Hamilton, were in the party. Hence Dodge's command consisted of about three hundred men, hardy and well mounted.

After the army had ascended the Rock River to a point a short distance above Lake Koshkonong, Dodge's

squadron and the brigades commanded by Henry and Alexander were sent to Fort Winnebago, at the Portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, to get provisions for the army. The Second Regiment of Posey's brigade was sent back to Dixon with a wounded officer and Posey and the rest of his troops were ordered to Fort Hamilton in order to protect the mining country, which had been exposed to attack by the Indians during Dodge's absence. Atkinson fell back to Lake Koshkonong and erected a temporary fort from which the modern city of Fort Atkinson takes its name. It was learned from Winnebago Indians that Black Hawk's camp was at Hustisford Rapids, on the Rock, it occupying the summit of a steep bank on the east side of the stream. The current was swift and the rapids made crossing difficult. Henry and Dodge were for attacking Black Hawk on the way back to Fort Atkinson. Alexander's men demurred, however, and Henry's men might have followed their example had not their commander been a strong disciplinarian. Alexander went back with provisions for the main army. Henry's brigade, now only six hundred strong, and Dodge's command, numbering a hundred and fifty men, started July 15th for Black Hawk's camp. Pierre Paquette, a trusted half-breed scout and trader, assisted by twelve Winnebago Indians, acted as guides for the expedition. When the troops reached Hustisford Rapids, July 18th, Black Hawk had disappeared. It was supposed that he had taken refuge at what is now known as Horicon Lake, in Dodge County. Adjutants Merriam and

Woodbridge, accompanied by Little Thunder, a Winnebago chief, were speeding to Atkinson's camp with this news when, between Jefferson and Watertown, they encountered a broad, fresh trail leading westward. This meant that Black Hawk was now headed for the Mississippi and the news was promptly carried to Henry. The troops, eager for the work in hand, started in pursuit the next morning. The trail that they followed was very similar to the line of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad that now runs between Jefferson Junction and Madison. Thence it led due northwest. Black Hawk's flight was hurried, while Henry's pursuit was so rapid that many of his horses succumbed to the strain. Inoffensive stragglers from the Indian camp, mostly old men who were starving, were shot and killed by the troops. Six or more lives were taken in this way, two of them within the precincts of what soon afterward became the capital of Wisconsin. It is difficult to imagine white soldiers committing such atrocities, but these were not unusual in border warfare. Indians slew without mercy, sparing neither child nor woman, and frontiersmen speedily developed the habit of scalping as well as of ruthless slaying. The scenes enacted during the pursuit of Black Hawk had been marked by the progress of the whites toward the Mississippi just as it marked their subsequent invasion of the plains and of the Rocky Mountains. There has never been anything more bitter than the feeling between settler and savage and never any warfare more cruel than that which they waged upon each other. Each sought to exterminate his

foe and neither had any scruples as to the manner in which he carried on the conflict. Both had suffered grievous wrongs and both kept revenge constantly in sight.

But to return to the pursuit of the fugitive savages. Toward the evening of the 21st, within less than two miles of the Wisconsin, Black Hawk and Neapope, his second in command, with forty braves, tried to cover the flight of the main body of Indians across the river by attacking both flanks of the army. The Indians, repulsed, hid in the tall grass, and for a half hour exchanged musket shots with the soldiers. Both sides suffered somewhat, but a bayonet charge drove the savages back to higher ground, where they joined another body of Indians, and all fell back toward the river. They took refuge in swampy ground along the river, ground fringed with timber, and General Henry deemed it wise not to press the attack that night.

In the evening, at dusk, many of the fugitives, mostly women, old men and children, tried to cross the Mississippi. With few exceptions, they were non-combatants and they hoped that they would be allowed to traverse the mouth of the Wisconsin and attain the west shore of the Mississippi without being molested from Fort Crawford. Their hope was in vain. Lieutenant Ritner and a small detachment of regulars, stationed a short distance above the fort, fired upon them. Fifteen men were killed and thirty-two women and children and four men were captured. Almost as many more were drowned. All except about ten of the survivors



perished of hunger or were killed by a party of three hundred Menominee Indians under Colonel Stambaugh and other officers. This encounter is called the battle of Wisconsin Heights, but it was a massacre rather than a battle.

Before dawn the next day, the 22nd, Neapope, from a knoll, delivered a conciliatory speech to the soldiers. In loud tones he declared that the Sauk had been forced into war and that now they simply wanted to cross the Mississippi in peace and to have no more trouble. He spoke in the Winnebago language. Paquette and his Winnebago followers had left the camp, and the officers did not understand what Neapope said. Giving up hope of peace, he fled to the Winnebago for refuge and his few companions hurried to tell Black Hawk, now hiding in a ravine on the north side of the Wisconsin River, that the whites would not even listen to them.

Finding that because of lack of provisions, he could not pursue Black Hawk, General Henry, on July 23rd, marched his little army to the fort at Blue Mounds. Late in the evening he was joined by Generals Atkinson and Alexander, who had left Fort Atkinson in haste upon hearing the news that Black Hawk was being closely pursued. General Atkinson distributed rations and ordered a general advance. General Posey rejoined the army. During July 27th and 28th, at Helena, the troops crossed the Wisconsin on rafts. The advance guard was composed of four hundred and fifty regulars, commanded by General Brady, although Colonel Taylor was still on duty. Generals Dodge, Posey and

Alexander, with their commands, followed in order, while Henry, in charge of the baggage, brought up the rear. It is declared that General Atkinson, through jealousy of what Henry had already accomplished, purposely placed him in a position where it would be difficult for him to win any more honors.

A few miles northeast of Helena the army found Black Hawk's trail. It led through swamps and difficult country toward the Mississippi. The Indians were reduced to a pitiable condition. They were eating the flesh of their exhausted ponies, even the bark of trees. Their dead, some victims of wounds, others of starvation, were found at intervals along the trail.

The Indians succeeded in reaching the Mississippi on the 1st of August. At a point two miles south of the Bad Axe River a crossing was attempted, but they had only two or three canoes and the work was very slow. They built a large raft and loaded women and children upon it, in the hope that they would reach a place of safety, but it capsized, and most of its occupants were drowned. The Indians suffered another misfortune the same day. In the afternoon the steamer *Warrior*, commanded by John Throckmorton, arrived upon the scene. The *Warrior* had been to the site of Winona to warn Chief Wabasha that the Sauk were headed in that direction and it was returning to Prairie du Chien. On board were Lieutenants Kingsbury and Holmes with fifteen regulars and six volunteers. Black Hawk has recorded that he appeared upon the bank, waving a white flag, and asked the captain to send a boat ashore,

as he wished to surrender. The captain, feigning to believe, or really believing, that an ambush was intended, ordered Black Hawk to come aboard. He replied that he could not do so, as his few canoes were being used to carry his women and children across the river and were not within call. A minute or two later three rounds of canister, fired from the boat, dealt death among the Indians. The band on shore, using muskets, exchanged many shots with the crew of the boat. In the end twenty-three Indians were killed, while on the boat, which went on to Prairie du Chien, the only casualty was one wounded.

Then came the climax of the war. Black Hawk planned a manoeuvre that almost foiled General Atkinson. It was this: Twenty warriors, stationed upon a bluff along the east bank of the Mississippi, were under orders, when engaged by the troops, to retreat three miles up the river, so as to divert attention from the main band and permit it to accomplish its flight across the river. In the morning, before dawn, the troops pressed forward. When the twenty savages were seen among the timber, it was supposed that the whole band was just behind them, and therefore General Atkinson ordered an attack. The right wing was composed of the troops commanded by Posey and Alexander, the left wing of Henry's command, and the center of Dodge's volunteers and the regulars. General Atkinson, when the Indians whose orders it was to mislead him began to retreat, ordered forward all the troops except Henry's. But Atkinson simply pursued the decoys,

while some scouts attached to Henry's command discovered the trail of the main body of Indians. Henry ordered his three hundred men to descend a bluff that intervened and then, charging gallantly across a short stretch of open timber, they found themselves in the midst of an equal number of warriors. Fierce fighting followed. At the point of the bayonet, the soldiers drove the savages nearer and nearer to the river. The squaws and children, witnessing the defeat of their defenders, became frantic with fear. Many plunged into the river in the wild hope of escaping and not a few were drowned in this way.

General Atkinson, when he heard the fighting in his rear hastened to the spot with the main army. In a half hour he had hemmed in the army from the north. The battle now became a massacre. The Indian braves, weak from hunger and overwhelmed by numbers, fought with desperate valor, but simply hastened their own destruction. A few escaped to a little island in the river, but just as they did so the steamer *Warrior* again appeared upon the scene and began sweeping the island with canister. A detachment of regulars and a few volunteers from Henry's and Dodge's command made a bayonet charge and left no living foe upon it. Some of the Indians tried to cross the river, but many were drowned in the attempt and others, including women and children, were shot in the water. About three hundred who succeeded in gaining the west shore were set upon by a hundred braves under Wabasha,

who was acting under General Atkinson's orders, and one half of them were killed.

In this engagement the white troops lost only seventeen killed and eleven wounded. A hundred and fifty of the Indians were killed, as many more were drowned, as many more were afterward slain by the Sioux and about fifty were taken prisoners. Black Hawk had returned to Illinois with a thousand followers, and now the band numbered only a hundred and fifty.

Black Hawk himself had repented his intention to desert his followers and take refuge in the Dells of the Wisconsin. He hastened back to them and arrived at the scene of battle just as the soldiers were completing the work of destroying the savages. The old chief keenly felt the blow. Crying aloud in grief and rage, he fled back to his place of refuge. Both he and White Cloud were captured at the Dells by two Winnebago, one of them being Chief Decorah, and delivered to Indian Agent Street at Prairie du Chien.

In the meantime, on the 7th of August, General Winfield Scott, who in the spring had been assigned to the command of all the forces operating against Black Hawk, arrived at Prairie du Chien, with almost eight hundred regulars. His command had been a thousand strong when it left the seacoast, but cholera had detained the expedition at Detroit and other points en route. It had caused the deaths of about twelve score of his command, a number little smaller than the total fatalities among the soldiers and settlers that resulted directly from hostilities. A treaty of peace with the

Sauk was signed at Fort Atkinson on the 21st of September. Black Hawk, White Cloud and Neapope were kept as hostages for the good conduct of the Sauk and of those Winnebago who were closely in sympathy with them. The scene of their captivity during the winter was Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, but in the spring they were confined for two months at Fortress Monroe. They were released June 4th. Black Hawk was taken to the principal cities of the East, in order to impress him with the power of the white men. Then he suffered the bitter humiliation of being placed under the guardianship of Keokuk, a chief of whom he had always been jealous. He and his followers were granted a small reservation on the DesMoines River, in Iowa. He died upon this reservation October 3rd, 1838, at the age of three score and eleven years. During the July following an Illinois physician stole his body, but in 1840 Governor Lucas of Iowa Territory recovered the skeleton. It was destroyed January 16th, 1853, in a fire that broke out in Iowa City, which at that time was the capital of the territory. It had been intended to place the remains in the museum of the Iowa Historical and Geological Institute.

The war was remarkable for the number of men participating in it who afterward became famous. Foremost of these was the great Lincoln. In the first campaign, the one that ended abruptly with Stillman's defeat, Lincoln was a captain in Colonel Thompson's regiment of Illinois volunteers. Mustered out of service at the end of that short campaign, he enlisted as



Jefferson Davis.

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a private horseman in Colonel Frye's of three hundred mounted volunteers, and aided in the effort to protect the frontier while new levies were being raised to invade Wisconsin. He enlisted for the Wisconsin campaign in June, as a member of Captain Jacob M. Early's independent company of rangers, and he served throughout the war. Colonel Zachary Taylor, another future president, served in the regular army during the campaign, and so did Major William S. Harney, the hero of Cerro Gordo. Jefferson Davis, who became chief of the Southern Confederacy, was stationed at Prairie du Chien when the war broke out, but he appears to have been absent, partly on detached duty and partly on furlough, during the whole period of hostilities. It was he, however, who escorted Black Hawk to Jefferson Barracks.

The treatment of Black Hawk and his band, both before the war and during hostilities, is discreditable to us. It is a black chapter in the history of the west. Usurpation and treachery marked the course of our settlers and a shocking disregard of the practices of civilized warfare marked the conduct of the soldiers in the field.

CHAPTER X
VILLAGE LIFE IN EARLY DAYS

A MORE peaceful community than that of Green Bay early in the nineteenth century it would be difficult to imagine. The French habitants were as ease-loving as they were good-natured and hospitable. Morgan L. Martin, an honored pioneer of the settlement, declared that it was more peaceful than any other which he ever knew. He has left an interesting description of the place as it was in 1827. The greater part of the settlement was on the east side of the river. Farther down the river was the farm of Pierre Grignon; farther up was the farm of John Lawe, upon part of which Mr. Morgan's residence was afterward located, and still farther up was a farm occupied by Louis Grignon. Next in order were the farms of Lewis Rouse, Amable du Rocher and Joseph Ducharme. Between the Ducharme place and Depere were a number of other farms. On the west side of the river Jacques Porlier's farm was nearest to the mouth of the river and above it was that of Dominique Brunet. At Kaukauna Rapids, on the north side of the river, Augustin Grignon had a farm and kept sheep, horses and cattle. The leading farms were those of Lawe, Pierre Grignon and Porlier, but none of them deserved to rank as real farms. Most of them used oxen for plowing. Neck yokes were not used. Instead the horns of a pair of oxen were lashed to a stout stick and to these were tied ropes which in turn were fastened to the "long, rude beam of a primitive plow, a pointed stick serving as a share." In the slight furrow made in this simple way the seeds

were planted and the hoe was used afterward to cultivate the ground.

Most of the population consisted of French Canadian boatmen or voyageurs who had retired from the fur trade, with its hardships. These began farming in a crude manner. They often took any piece of land that suited them, so long as nobody else was using it or made claim to it. They raised wheat, barley and peas, but they were never wholly devoted to the pursuit of agriculture and their crops were not commensurate with the fertility of the soil. The farmers at Prairie du Chien, according to one authority, were more thrifty and industrious than those at Green Bay. They not only raised considerable wheat, but oats and barley as well. Some of the farmers united in providing themselves with a flour mill, granite being used for grinding stones. They sifted the flour by hand. The surplus flour was sold to fur traders or exchanged with Indians for game. In dealing with the traders, the farmers set their own prices upon their foodstuffs and allowed the traders to fix their own prices for the goods which they took in exchange. One Pierre Larivière, of Prairie du Chien, ambitious of ranking as the best farmer in that region, sold flour to Michael Brisbois, a trader, at a figure above the market price, with the understanding that the trader, in turn, was to charge him more than the market price for the goods that he selected in exchange for his flour. If anybody lost by this transaction, it was not the trader, while Larivière probably took occasion to tell his neighbors time and time again that his flour had commanded

the record price in that market. Brisbois, it should be added, was baker as well as trader. He would take a hundred pounds of flour from a trader and in return give checks for fifty loaves of bread. These checks were used in trade with the Indians. Flour was sold at from \$6 to \$8 per hundred pounds, onions commanded as much as \$9 a bushel and eggs one dollar a dozen. One would naturally think that the farmers, with such a market, were on the road to wealth, but they had to pay as much as \$6 a pound for Hyson tea, one dollar a pound for resin soap, two dollars a yard for calico, forty cents each for clay pipes and two dollars a pound for common tobacco. The women of those days drank much tea. Tea has for generations been the favorite beverage of fur traders, and these women, mostly the daughters of traders by Indian wives, had been accustomed from childhood to drinking it. To them it was one of the necessaries of life.

James W. Biddle of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, an army sutler who became connected with the post at Green Bay in 1816, has recorded that marriages for limited periods were the general rule in the settlement. The women were either full-blooded Indians or half-breeds. A Canadian boatman, for instance, would choose a girl and then enter into an agreement with her parents by which she was to live with him for a limited period. The contract also stipulated the amount that her parents were to receive for the temporary loss of her services. These payments were generally made in provisions, clothing or other supplies. Sometimes these

marriages were for six months, sometimes for twelve months. Some were renewed two or three times, and occasionally they became permanent. Religious wedding ceremonies at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were out of the question in those early days, and it was easy to fall into these Indian customs. Indian marriages, which were more or less temporary, and in which gifts to the bride's parents were important factors, became the rule. Women thus married believed that they were lawful wives. A woman of Prairie du Chien, described as "respectable in her class," was attending a ball when a trader living farther down the Mississippi, whose canoe was loaded and waiting for him, proposed to marry her. He occupied a higher station in life than she did and his proposal so pleased her that she went from the ball-room to his canoe and thence to his home. They lived together three or four years and two children were born to them. She deemed herself his wife just as much as she would have been had she been wedded to him with all the rites of the church.

Many a glimpse into the life led by Green Bay's early settlers is given in memoirs written by the late Mrs. Henry S. Baird. When she went to Green Bay to live, in 1824, it was as a bride of fourteen years. Her wedding had taken place at Mackinac. Her father, Henry Munro Fisher, was a prominent fur trader in the employ of the American Fur Company. His ancestry was Scotch. She was a native of Prairie du Chien. On her mother's side she inherited French and Indian blood. Her maternal great grandmother was Migisan, daugh-

ter of Kewinaquot, an Ottawa chief. Mrs. Baird was a charming woman, an extensive traveler considering the days in which she lived, and she possessed an excellent education. She was proud of the Indian blood which flowed through her veins. The houses which she found at Green Bay were mostly one-story buildings, with low ceilings, and windows so small that when an Indian peered through one of them, a privilege which a savage invariably exercised, the room within became darkened. In many a room there would be only one window and the Indian would raise his blanket over his head and press his face against the window so as to get a clearer view of the interior of the room. Rustic furniture was used by the pioneers, especially the French, and Indian mats were used in place of carpet. Mrs. Baird's first home was part of a large two-story double log house which had been used as the quarters of United States Army officers. Through the middle of the house there was a broad hall, with a large room on each side, and up-stairs a smaller hall, with a sleeping room on each side. Every one of the rooms was provided with a fire-place. In the back part of the house a narrow hall divided in the middle ran crosswise of the main hall, and from these halls the housekeeper entered her kitchen, which was not connected with the other kitchen. Each kitchen was provided with a fire-place and with a door leading out into the open. The kitchen part of the building was only one story high. Every housewife had to do her own cooking, as servants for indoor work were not to be had, in fact domestic ser-

vice was deemed degrading. There were no bakeries, nor even any markets. Women were thrown entirely upon their own resources. Every householder had to provide his own supply of wood for winter and he kept a man and a horse for this purpose. This hewer of wood took care of the horse and milked the cow, though the latter task was humiliating to most of the male servants.

In the autumn tallow and lard had to be rendered, candles molded and sausage and headcheese made. Most of the residents raised and killed their own hogs and cattle. Some had more than they could use and would sell a pig or a quarter of beef to a neighbor.

There was only one shoemaker in the village and every fall and spring he would go to each house in turn and make shoes for the entire family. There were no milliners, no dressmakers. Every woman had to make her own dresses. The patterns were furnished by women coming from the East—visitors, new settlers or wives of army officers. Each of these, representing the latest style, would lend her dress to a friend, who in turn would lend her new dress to somebody else, and in this way the ladies of the frontier settlement kept not too far behind fashion's progress.

A year after their arrival at Green Bay, the Bairds built a house of their own on the brow of a hill at Shantytown. This was of logs, one and a half stories high, with two living rooms and a kitchen downstairs and two rooms upstairs. It was not clap-boarded outside, nor plastered inside, but the chinks were neatly filled with

pieces of wood. The building was whitewashed inside and outside. During the first winter the Bairds used only one of the rooms. Its chief furniture was a looking-glass which adorned the bare walls and a curtained bed that occupied one corner. Just south of the Baird home was the residence of Joseph Ducharme, who had served in the French army. It was a large structure, with low-hanging roof and deep eaves. In front was a spacious porch and the French windows were filled with small panes of glass. The chimney was very large.

Dancing was the chief social diversion of the settlement. The Military band played whenever the officers at Fort Howard gave a party. These parties were the events of the winter season. The dances arranged outside of the fort were mostly impromptu affairs. The women seldom took the initiative in arranging these. Two men would meet and one would suggest that they hold a dance at the home of another friend that evening. The hostess to-be would learn of the plan through her own husband and she would clear out one room for dancing. Another room would be provided with cradles for the babies of the guests, who, being without servants, could not leave their very young offspring at home. Somebody would take care of all the babies while their mothers danced. Dancing began early, about seven o'clock in the evening, and the function ended with a feast. These suppers were elaborate, although the housewives of those days had to make their own gelatine by boiling calves' feet; had to roast coffee, and, in fact, use everything in its raw state. The drinks

offered to guests were generally those made at home, such as currant wine, cherry bounce and raspberry cordial.

A belle of Green Bay during the early days was Miss Mary Ann Brevoort, daughter of Major Henry B. Brevoort of the United States Army. He was appointed Indian agent at Green Bay in 1822, and his daughter joined him at the Bay in 1824. She is described by contemporaries as a graceful, courtly, attractive young woman, of symmetrical figure, "blossoming countenance, sparkling black eyes and genial smile." She was a native of Detroit and of French descent on her mother's side. She lived at Green Bay for about six years and during that time she had varied and interesting experiences. With her four brothers, all younger than herself, she was often called into the council chamber to smoke the pipe of peace with the Indians. A young Indian fell in love with her. "He followed me everywhere," she has recorded. "I will not attempt to describe his dress; it was too ridiculous." Some of the young men of the village likewise fell in love with her, according to the evidence of others, and some of the officers of Fort Howard were most attentive to her. Among the notable men whom she met during her residence at the Bay were General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott.

The officers of the fort gave a military ball, to which she went by invitation of Lieutenant E. Kirby Smith. He escorted her to the fort in a small boat. The "music was enchanting," there was a "sumptuous repast" and

she had "a delightful time." At midnight a terrific storm came up, but in an hour the sky cleared and the stars peeped out again. She had never been away from home over night and she insisted upon returning now, although the ladies of the garrison urged her to stay with them. With Lieutenant Smith she embarked in a boat so small that it was called the "Pill Box." Half way home there was another storm, the wind blew a gale and the rain fell in torrents. The frail boat rocked dangerously in the waves and the lieutenant himself became so alarmed that he stood up in the boat, took off his hat and coat and begged her to jump into the water and swim ashore with him. She clung to him and mutely implored him to desist from his mad plan. In the confusion the rudder became lost and the boat began to fill with water. The four soldiers who were rowing let go the oars and started to bail out the water with their hats. They expected every moment that the boat would capsize, but they told her not to fear. In this way they spent three hours and finally drifted upon a sandbar about two miles from her home. "I was elegantly dressed," she records, "having a dress of figured lavender satin, trimmings of white satin and white lace, white kid slippers, white silk hose, white lace shawl, white kid gloves, and a covering for the head called a "calash," made of green silk and rattan, which could be folded flat, and pulled out over the face when worn, and answered as a parasol or bonnet; they were very fashionable at the time, but I have never seen the like since." The water

was so shallow that they waded ashore. By the time that she reached home, she and her escort walking the distance of two miles mostly through mud, "the weight of the water had loosened the trimmings on my dress, and it hung five yards behind me, black as the earth." Her mother had not slept a wink during the night, so alarmed was she. The next day many called to ascertain whether the young lady had been drowned, the boat, caps, boots and oars having been found along the shore. Some time later Lieutenant Smith was ordered to Mackinac, and there she met him again when her family returned to Detroit. They strolled over part of the island, carved their names upon a tree near Arch Rock, walked over the Arch, almost falling into the water, parted—and never met again. During the Mexican war he was mortally wounded at El Molino del Rey.

Miss Brevoort, who afterward married Charles L. Bristol, a prominent resident of Michigan and a cousin of Commodore Perry, attended a wedding while she was at Green Bay and has left an interesting description of it. The bride was a daughter of Augustin Grignon, who resided at Kaukauna, and the groom was Ebenezer Childs, a pioneer of Green Bay. The party was quite large, batteaux being used to carry guests to the scene of the wedding. The simple statement is made that "the bride was dressed in white muslin." The wedding feast is described with particularity. "On the table for supper were all kind of wild meat—bear, deer, muskrat, raccoon, turkey, quail, pigeon, skunk, and porcupine with the quills on." The bride's mother was

an Indian woman. "Most of the old settlers," narrates Miss Brevoort or Mrs. Bristol, "were married to Indian women; splendid looking, clean and respectable. Some of their children had light hair, blue eyes, fine complexions; no one could tell that they had a drop of Indian blood; and all were well educated." To be well educated at that period and in those frontier settlements was to be able to read and write.

Education was not neglected at Green Bay. Some of the young half-breeds were sent to school in Canada. Jacques Porlier was serving as an instructor in the family of Pierre Grignon, his employer, as early as 1791. In 1817 a couple named Carron, educated French folk, detained at Green Bay on their way to St. Louis, held school for a few months. In the fall of the same year Thomas S. Johnson, a New Yorker, began teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and English to the children of the fort and those of the hamlet at \$5 a quarter. He soon had thirty-three children gathered about him, but those from the hamlet taunted the little ones of the fort with being Yankees, trouble ensued, and in a few months the school was disbanded. In 1821 a school house was erected a few rods southwest of the Morgan L. Martin residence. The first teacher was John Baptiste Jacobs, who was succeeded by one Douglas, an employè of the American Fur Company. In 1823 Amos Holton, an Eastern lawyer who had become winter-bound at the Bay, took charge of the school for twelve weeks, and for his work received \$4 for each pupil. A little later this school

house, which was a log building of one room, lighted by one window, was abandoned for a larger structure. Captain Daniel Curtis, an ex-army officer, whose granddaughter married General Philip H. Sheridan, was the next dominie. He taught for a year and was succeeded by A. G. Ellis. Before this Mr. Ellis, who had gone to the Bay as a lay reader of the Episcopal Church and an assistant to the Rev. Eleazer Williams, had opened a school in one room of a two-room cabin occupied by a Miss L'Ecuyer and her aunt. Robert Irwin, Jr., was interested in this school. It was free to all and it opened in October. It was soon filled to its capacity. In February, in the height of the school's success, Miss L'Ecuyer told Mr. Ellis that she was going to be married and would need the room used by him and his pupils. From Mr. Williams he obtained permission to remove the school to one of the rooms in the old Agency House. Things went along very smoothly until Williams fell in love and married Miss Madeline Jourdain, one of the pupils. Again Mr. Ellis had to surrender his school because of the pranks of Cupid, and this time he dismissed his school indefinitely. In a new school, however, the one of which he became the head in 1824, Mr. Ellis was very successful indeed. Eighty pupils, about half of whom paid tuition, were enrolled. Soon afterward the officers at Fort Howard built a larger post school and they asked Mr. Ellis to take charge of it. The citizens wished to continue his own school. Finally a compromise was effected by which the post school would be open to a limited number of the

village children. It was superior in size and equipment. Books, stationery and furniture were supplied by the council of administration. The officer of the day visited the school every day, General Hugh Brady and his staff inspected the school and heard recitations every day and while in school the pupils were under military discipline. The school was closed in 1827, when most of the troops at Fort Howard were ordered to Jefferson Barracks. In 1831 a school was opened in Navarino and thenceforward at least one or two private schools were maintained in the settlement, until a public school system was established.

Before mail service was established, Green Bay was virtually isolated from the rest of the world during a great part of the year. At first the mail came by way of Detroit and it was carried by a soldier who during his long and weary tramp was in peril from cold and wolves, to say nothing of the difficulty of wading through snowdrifts and the danger of starvation. At night, weary and cold, he wrapped his blanket around him and made his bed in a snowbank. Pack, pouch and loaded musket he carried and generally snow shoes. For seven winters, beginning in 1817, Moses Hardwick, who had served in the army, walked from Green Bay to Detroit and thence back to Green Bay. In 1822 Robert Irwin, Jr., was appointed postmaster at Green Bay and he held the position for many years. In 1824 Green Bay benefited by the establishment of a private route between Fort Wayne and Chicago. By this means mail was delivered at Green Bay once a month at an annual expense of \$86.

The carrier traveled afoot and his arrival was an important event in the little town. About the time that he was expected, some of the residents would become impatient and set out in sleighs to meet him. Hardwick covered this route for some years, and so did Alexander Clermont. By 1834 the mail service from Chicago and Milwaukee had so improved that the small semi-monthly newspaper published at Green Bay came out with these lines:

Three times a week without any fail,
At four o'clock we look for the mail,
Brought with dispatch on an Indian trail.

The service, however, was not so regular as the rhymes indicate. The pay was good, \$45 to Milwaukee and return, and from \$60 to \$65 to Chicago and return, but reliable carriers were scarce and complaints of irregular delivery were not uncommon.

The arrival of the first vessel of the season was one of the events of the year at Green Bay. Isolated during the winter, the inhabitants, as soon as navigation opened, would eagerly watch the bay for glimpses of the boats that bore friends and new faces as well as news of the faraway world.

Some families of pure French blood lived at Prairie du Chien. They came from the French towns on the Illinois River. Many of the farmers' wives, however, were of mixed blood. The farms formed a common field, in reality, the boundaries being roads that afforded ingress to and egress from the fields. The farms, from three to five arpents wide, ran from the bluffs to the

Mississippi or to a slough called St. Freole. The farmers spent much time fishing and hunting, dancing and drinking. But while they drank, they deemed it a disgrace to get drunk. Their wants were few, their lives simple.

Early in 1811 there was considerable farming at Prairie du Chien. The village consisted of between thirty and forty houses, but in the outlying farming district, running six leagues up and down the river and six leagues back of it, were perhaps as many more dwellings, making about four score in all. Not more than a twelfth of the mistresses of these families were white women. It was estimated that even at that early day the farmers of that region supplied annually to the traders and the Indians eight thousand weight of flour, and, in addition, quantities of meal. They began to plant fruit trees about the same time.

One of the early inhabitants of Prairie du Chien was a Mrs. Ménard, in whom French blood was mixed with African. She came from one of the French villages farther south. By her first husband, Du Chouquette, she had two sons, one of whom joined Astor's expedition to the mouth of the Columbia River. After the death of her second husband, one Gagnier, by whom she had three sons and three daughters, she married Charles Ménard. Three sons and two daughters were born to them. Aunt Mary Ann, as she was generally called, was midwife, nurse and healer, and enjoyed more or less practice even after Fort Crawford had been erected and a surgeon had been provided for the post. In fact,

the army surgeons employed her, and to her good nursing they attributed the recovery of not a few of their patients.

In 1823, a postoffice was established at Prairie du Chien. The nearest and most accessible postoffice previously had been Clarksville, on the Mississippi, about a hundred miles above St. Louis. From St. Louis mail was sent to Clarksville, either by keelboat or by military express, but only occasionally, and it reached Prairie du Chien even less frequently. Judge James Duane Doty, who had temporarily taken up his residence at the Prairie, the law requiring him to hold sessions of his court in Crawford County, applied for the establishment of the new postoffice. His request was granted, and he was appointed postmaster, with authority to use the proceeds of the office to pay for carrying the mail. The postal receipts and contributions by inhabitants and officers of the garrison enabled him to send Jean B. Loyer, an old *voyageur*, to Clarksville once during the winter at a cost of thirty dollars. The next year Judge Doty removed to Green Bay and James H. Lockwood succeeded him as postmaster. He brought about the establishment of postoffices at Galena and Rock Island, and with the income of the three stations he arranged for two trips from Clarksville during the ensuing winter. Later a postal route was extended from Springfield, Illinois, to Galena, and for some years afterward Prairie du Chien, at her own expense, sent to Galena for mail. In the fall of 1832 Dr. Addison Philleo, by contract

with the postal authorities, began sending mail clear through to Prairie du Chien.

In October, 1828, General Joseph M. Street, who in August, 1827, had been appointed Indian agent at the Prairie, succeeded Lockwood as postmaster. The extension of the postal route from Springfield to Galena seems to have been due in part to his efforts. At any rate, after he had been appointed postmaster, but before he was notified of the fact, he urged the plan very strongly in a letter which he wrote to Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois Territory. In this letter, dated December 28th, 1828, he stated that although steamboats had carried the mail free during the summer, so that the whole income of the office was available for transporting the mail during the winter, Postmaster Lockwood had left during the previous July to lay in a stock of merchandise and, with his goods, was now ice-bound in the river below Rock Island. The deputy postmaster had waited until seven or eight days before sending down a man to get the mail. The whole service, Street feared, was being made subservient to the interests of a merchant, but he added that he was not acquainted with Postmaster Lockwood and might be wronging him by his suspicions. He asked Edwards to write to the Postmaster-General in favor of extending the Springfield route to Galena, adding that he himself had already written to that end, and that the extension to Galena would be a stepping stone to another extension of the service direct to Prairie du Chien.

In the spring of 1817, a Roman Catholic priest from

St. Louis, whom the traders called P ere Priere (Father Pray) visited the place. He found several women who had left their husbands and were living with other men. He compelled them to beg their husbands to forgive them and take them back. This the husbands did, so that by the time he left, there was a marked rearrangement of several households.

In 1830 the town was visited by a man named Coe, who claimed to be a Presbyterian missionary. He remained over Sunday and attempted to preach, but he lacked education and even good judgment, and did not make a favorable impression. It is related of him that he arrived within thirty miles of Fort Snelling Saturday night, and because the keel boat upon which he was a passenger was to complete the journey the next day, he went ashore and camped alone that night rather than travel during the Sabbath. He was almost famished, as well as exhausted, when he reached the fort the following Monday.

In 1832 a student of divinity, representing the Cumberland Presbyterian sect, spent about six months at the Prairie. He taught school week days and on Sundays held religious services.

The next year the Rev. David Lowry, of the same sect, arrived to take charge of a school which was to be established near the Prairie for the Winnebago Indians, but it was another year before suitable buildings for the school were erected upon the banks of the Yellow River, in Iowa, and meanwhile Mr. Lowry remained at Prairie



PRAIRIE DU CHIEN IN 1836.

From an old cut.



VIEW OF MADISON IN 1836.

The noted sculptress, Vinnie Ream, is said to have been born in the log cabin shown in the foreground.

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du Chien. He preached Sundays and in the end organized a small religious society.

The Rev. Alfred Brunson, famous as a pioneer missionary, made a flying trip to the settlement in the autumn of 1835. The next year, as superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Mission of the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior, he returned with his family. He purchased a farm, and, with materials that he had brought from Meadville, in Pennsylvania, he built a house upon it. He preached whenever he was at the Prairie. His labors in that field occupied several years and during that period he formed a Methodist society in the place.

The Rev. Richard F. Cadle, an Episcopalian, went to the Prairie in 1836, in the capacity of missionary, but was soon appointed chaplain of the fort. He formed a church of the communicants living in the neighborhood, but these were so few in number that it was necessary to fill most of the officers with non-communicants. He resigned his position and left the settlement because he concluded that in preaching to soldiers, who were compelled to listen to him, he was not doing the work that was best for him and for his church.

A Presbyterian missionary named J. D. Stephens began work in 1842, and remained in the field two or three years. He formed a church, but the membership was too small, even with the sum that he received from the Missionary Society, to support him, and finally he went to Platteville. He had previously labored among the Stockbridge Indians, on the Fox River, as

well as at Mackinac and among the Sioux. For more than a quarter of a century he was one of the trustees of Beloit College. He died at Beloit.

The crude manner in which pioneer commerce was carried on in those days is illustrated in the case of Ezekiel Tainter, who, after making money by supplying Fort Crawford with wood and beef, bought goods at St. Louis and opened a store at Prairie du Chien, taking into partnership his brother Gorham, fresh from the East. Neither had any knowledge of mercantile affairs and they kept no account of expenses, nor of what they themselves took out of the store for the use of their large families. Their practice was for each to take some article to offset any article that the other might take. At the end of two years they were confronted by a deficit of three thousand dollars and at first it did not occur to them that the sum represented what they had taken out of the business. When the truth dawned upon him, Ezekiel in disgust, returned to farming.

CHAPTER XI

FARM LIFE IN PIONEER DAYS *



ONE who writes with interest of the experiences of the early settlers must see with the eye of experience and so, being but one, give a narrow range of experience, compensated for by vividness.

The early settlers, as generally understood, came to Southeastern Wisconsin. They followed the pioneers, who in turn followed traders and explorers. They came by land and by lake. It was not uncommon to meet families who had come from any point from Ohio to Maine by team.

The state of the roads must be considered. The ax, the hand-spike and the chain always hung handy as the water pail and the feed box. The wagon was covered and not unfrequently built out over the side above the wheels to gain width. Eastern wagon boxes were square cornered but the genus "prairie schooner" had ends projecting in a scow-like way and running higher than the middle of the box. The bows shaping the cover, at front and rear, partook of this thrust, which gave them their designation. These were mostly from Indiana and southeast. In these wagons the family lived and traveled to the far territory of Wisconsin.

On Lake Michigan in the early '40s there were only two or three steamboats and from Buffalo they took ten days more often than eight. But immigrants did not scorn the humble schooner and two weeks or more

*Written by Isaac Newton Stewart.

on the trip. When they arrived, they were fortunate if some friend came with an ox team to take them to their destination. And for some years after, older settlers took their produce to market and immigrants had to build on it and work a patch. Not infrequently making long trips before they returned home. Usually, the family stopped at some convenient place while the father sought for a location. Land in those days was pre-empted, entered for the purpose of buying when it came into market. To hold the claim, the settler had to build on it and work a patch. Not infrequently two families would build on the line and work both sides of it. Settlers combined to prevent jumping claims and to drive off any who might bid at the sale against him who had pre-empted.

Everything had to be bought; flour, pork, cattle and tools. But many brought cattle and the simplest and most elementary tools with them. The foreigner at first came loaded with the most outlandish assortment of crude and heavy implements which were wholly useless here. If the people of to-day could see a collection of those implements the show would excel any fair or museum in interest and wonder. Yet the settler, who for the most part had little or no money, had to manage wisely. Hence everybody was helpful. The neighbors made a "bee" to cut his logs and haul them. Another "bee" framed the corners and raised the logs. Slabs or "shakes" made the first roof. Houses were built without a nail or piece of iron in them. Men were expert in making pins of oak and framing things to

bind together without nails. Door hinges and latches were made of wood; not all, of course, but so commonly as to attract no notice. Till glass could be had, blankets served to shelter the windows.

After the place for the house had been selected, the next thing was to select suitable trees wherewith to build it. These should be straight, not too large nor yet too small, and of approximately equal size. They were hauled on the ground to the place and to the proper sides. Good logs were put at the bottom and framed at the corners for the next course. Then came the "raising bee." Some of the more expert neighbors chopped or sawed the ends of the logs so that they would lie firmly and allow the most part or the whole length to touch the log below. Then these were placed, of equal size, alternately on opposite ends or sides. Chains were brought and connected. One end was hooked about the top log and the chain passed under and about the log to be rolled up on skids. A yoke of cattle at the other end, when all was ready, drew the log to its place. When the wall became too high, the cattle could not work, for the chain was too high and the bows choked them. Then the last logs had to be rolled by hand while the chain or levers were used to hold all the "rise" made and to prevent the log from rolling back to the great danger of the men.

The corners were framed in several ways. Some with flat tenons, each of a thickness according to the log. This form made smooth work, but would not resist side pressure which came with the settling of the house.

Another way was a pair of V-shaped cuts, one on top and the other at the bottom, lying across each other in direction, one thrust upwards and the other down, so that the ends crossed at the corners interlocked, resisting pressure from all directions. This was a rude dovetailing. It must be remembered that these joints had to be made according to the log and so exact in length and plane as to fit. If they did not fit when placed, the error had to be corrected. It was experience, eye and skill with the ax. The logs were sometimes hewn on the ground but perhaps quite as often after the body was raised, if hewed at all. The spaces between the logs were then "clinked" with pieces of slabs, split stick or anything which would do, cut and shaped to fill out the round of the logs as they lay in the house. These joints were then "pointed" with the most sticky mud obtainable, sometimes mixed with straw to hold it more firmly. Every year or two the outside at least had to be "pointed" anew. The roof might be "shakes," split preferably from red oak, half an inch or more thick and about three feet long, laid like shingles 16 or 18 inches to the weather. It might be slabs; it might even be basswood bark peeled one half a tree in a piece and long enough, if possible, to reach from the ridge to the bottom. One course was laid hollow side up and the edges were covered by another laid back up. A long shingle was often used, laying 16 inches to the weather and put on in courses up the roof instead of along the eaves, as short shingles are now laid.

The rafters were poles framed to fit the top log and

pinned down if necessary. Beams were let into the logs at the proper place for the upper floor. Floors and even doors and window casings were made of split planks. Of course if lumber could be had, it was used. Pins made of oak were used instead of nails. The expert dressed his pin square first and then cornered it. He made the pin a bit too large one way when he wanted to draw a joint tight and this edge was placed in the auger hole to press lengthwise of the timber to draw fast without splitting the wood. Wooden shoes were fastened to the ox sleds in this way. A round pin would not hold at all. In all this work, the adz was a great help for those able to have and use it. A hollow bitted adz was used for many purposes, as troughs and neck-yokes for carrying pails. These log houses, when well constructed and covered, were the driest, warmest, most healthful houses ever built.

The first thing in settling was to get a sawmill built. A stream, a wooden water-wheel and an upright saw were the essentials. The saw cut on the down stroke only. The settler hauled his logs on an ox sled, made by himself, shod with ironwood or maple shoes, replaced when worn down. These sleds not unfrequently served for summer use on the farm and even to ride on to church, parties and "raisings," for these were social occasions. Men made their own ox-yokes and the bows for them. They became as a people skilled with the ax, the auger, chisel and saw.

The new comer tried to get to his land as early in the season as possible, so that he might raise a few

potatoes, a little corn or at least some turnips to help him through the first winter. He did this even though he could not plow; he "tucked" the seed in the sod and hoed the plants as well as he could.

He had to go to the spring for water till he could dig a well. He had a neck yoke made to fit the shoulder and around the back of the neck wherewith to carry two pails of water, or of sap in the sugarbush. His winter's hay stacked over a pen of logs, rails or poles, made the winter shelter for his cow and oxen. Threshing was largely done with flails on the ground, cleaned and smoothed for that purpose.

Coming in the spring or early summer, he found the wild land a thing of beauty. Unobstructed by fences, his cattle ranged in rich feed far and wide. He had bells of bronzed iron on his cows, the tone of which was well known to the boys and girls of the family. They took hours to hunt the cows, wandering in a garden of flowers, in the woods or marshes, all filled with life and beauty. In the openings and prairies, the flowers were wonderful in abundance and beauty. In the half wet land, lady slippers white or yellow, grew dense as the grass. The fringed gentian, painted cup or "squaw flower" two feet high, the large yellow ladyslipper, the "shooting star" or dodecatheon with its glorious crown of 15 to 24 pendent blossoms, roses, violets, lilies and asters, the blazing star three or four feet high, with its long stem of gorgeous purple, bells blue and yellow in large bushy growth, phlox in three or four kinds, puccoon, mineral weed, vetches of half

a dozen species; all these and hundreds others grew rank everywhere.

In the thickets were plums of a dozen kinds, the exact flavor and season of each well known to the cow-hunters. Crab apples of at least two kinds grew in abundance and the larger, oily kind served for the settler's mince pies and table sauce. Cattle learned to shake the plum and apple trees to get the fruit. Strawberries of marvelous flavor reddened the ground. The denser woodland had its compensations in berries, shelter and game. Endless flocks of ducks and geese pervaded the waters and marshes. Pigeons darkened the sky in their flight. Prairie chickens and quail were in every cornfield. But amid all this glorious life and surroundings, the settler had his serious task. He must build a home and create a community. Those who travel through a well ordered and outfitted farming country, or while away a few hours or days in seeing the quiet villages or large cities of the state, cannot realize that all this has been created from the ground up within two generations. The hands of the early settlers did the work making the show possible; and that for the most part out of their earnings and hard toil. Consider for a moment all that had to be done by these men and women. Places to live, roads and bridges, fences, clearing the land of timber and stones, schools and churches, planting orchards and replacing the first crude buildings with better; and then the vast strides as capital came in and cities grew; railroads and steamboats, the telegraphs and telephones, factories, docks and stores; all

have sprung by the magic of sturdy labor from the bare land, within the time of the short life of one man!

This was the work of the early settler, work to which his soul was devoted. But he had discouragements which did not discourage. The clearing of the land and the drying of the marshes brought miasma and that meant the ague. Whole neighborhoods were seized at once. The sick had to care for the sick. The father would rise from his bed to cut the ready harvest in the forenoon and then he would go to his chills and delirium. The son would rise at noon and struggle to bind the sheaves till his chills came. Even the hogs had the ague.

Then the Hessian fly cut off the wheat crops, followed by chinch bugs and the potato beetle. The farmer, almost exhausted from these causes, had to get the new machinery, reapers and threshers. His early buildings began to fail or became inadequate. So new drains were made on his scant earnings. Many, discouraged, sold out and moved to newer regions. The new comers had some money and so the country grew.

Marketing was done by ox team and horses gradually replaced the oxen. Twenty miles a day was good work on the roads. Ten barrels of flour or 35 bushels of wheat was a heavy load. And these had to be hauled to the lake ports, even for 100 miles. Then the farmer sought immigrants or merchandise to carry back. The price of wheat depended on the chance of a schooner's being in port and in haste to sail. But the distant farmer

might get in only to find the boats gone and then! When the mills in Milwaukee started it was better for the farmers.

Pork was killed at home and, if sold, packed in barrels of 200 pounds. Live stock was sold to butchers at home and to neighbors. A hundred things now finding a ready market either were not produced or had no sale. And with all this work, building and poor markets, people now wonder why these early settlers did not get rich.

There was another class of settlers who demand special notice. A large German immigration took place. These people came later and took to the woods north and west of Milwaukee. They were rich for a great part in a sturdy wife and family, scant clothing and an ax. Among the immigrants were some with money. These located in favorable situations and to them as countrymen flocked the almost helpless immigrants. These poor people were thought fair plunder by agents of all kinds along the route from the coast and, occasionally by shrewder and better fixed countrymen of their own when they reached their prospective homes. Yet these people, under far worse conditions than their American neighbors, built up the richest agricultural section of Wisconsin.

For years they furnished the hired men and girls for their more southern neighbors. The men went down into Illinois and followed the harvest season north. Their women and children did the work at home. Their scant earnings were hoarded and guarded through need

and suffering. One of these harvest hands, at the close of the season, bought a Peekskill plough, a heavy cast iron affair, at Waukesha, and carried it on his back to Richfield! Such were the labors of these poor immigrants. That might well have been his first plow, if not the only one for two or more families. And this leads to speak of the helpfulness of those days.

No man was independent; all had to help one another. Neighbors walked miles to tend the sick, whether they knew them or not. They combined teams to make a breaking outfit, which consisted of four yoke of oxen, a monstrous plow with a beam twelve or fourteen feet long, with a wheel and a coulter. With this went two men, one to hold and one to drive. Few men had more than one yoke, or at most two, of oxen. Few were able besides to own a plow. The ox to the early settler was what the mule was to the army, his life and locomotion.

In the wooded regions, logging was the first work. Magnificent oaks, elm, maple, basswood and even black walnut, were cut into lengths such as could be handled, piled up and burned. The boy on the farm might gather the hardwood ashes and sell them, if a potash factory were accessible, for six cents a bushel. Soft wood ashes or mixed ashes were not wanted. But this was incidental and not common. Many of those acres would be worth more now than they are as farms if the timber could have been spared. But the settler must have a home and a farm; he could not live on the trees; they had to go. In the openings the grubs had to be

taken out. There were no stump machines or dynamite. They came out by back-aching work with mattock, ax and levers. Sometimes the team was used, hitching the chain up high and making the team give a steady pull while the grub man sought the holding roots. The skill an ox team would acquire at this work was remarkable. It would hold firmly though the spring of the tree lifted the oxen off their fore feet. They would soon learn to change the direction of their draft to meet resistance. They would roll logs on a heap directed by the voice of the man behind the pile, whose life often depended on their exact faithfulness. They would haul logs to the pile, when the pile was determined, without a driver, fetching the log to the right place and stopping till the boy waiting unhooked the chain, and then return for another log at the call.

Wages in early days were low. Farm hands in the '40s had from \$6 to \$10 a month and board. School teachers, ten York shillings (8 shillings to the dollar) to two dollars a week and "board around," as all teachers did. Hired girls had half a dollar to one dollar a week. And it was not beneath any one's dignity to "work out." For cradling grain, fifty cents an acre was the going price; and three acres a fair day's work, of twelve to fourteen hours. Some more expert could cut four acres and the extreme was five. That meant work from sun to sun if not into the gloaming. Here and there a binder with a hand rake could keep up with the cradler; but more often he could not do so. It took twelve to fifteen men to run a threshing machine

and eight or ten horses. Both the horsepower and the thresher were unloaded and set on the ground and then 100 to 150 bushels of wheat could be threshed in a day. Two to two and a half acres was a day's ploughing and steady work at that. Breaking teams could not do much more than half that, except perhaps on the prairies. Whisky was 10 cents a gallon and was not unfrequently furnished in the harvest field, at raisings and threshing jobs. Every family made its own clothes and some were compelled to make their shoes or at least repair them, as they did almost all the tools used.

Money was hard to get; most all was truck trade. Interest started at twelve per cent. legal. But when the land came into the market, it was found that the law fixing rates of interest had been repealed. Many a man tried to save his home at 25 per cent. It was many years before rates got down to ten and then to seven per cent. The two classes of men who were well off were those who had money to lend and those who could not or would not borrow. Wheat at fifty to seventy five cents a bushel was the standard crop. Later some oats and barley could be sold; but corn and potatoes had no regular market for many years, owing to bad transportation facilities.

At first winter wheat was raised and yielded great crops, 40 bushels to the acre being the usual rate. Then the Hessian fly came and the wheat began to winter kill. Resort was had to spring wheat. Black Sea was the first favorite. The fly got that. Then others were tried, Club Hedgerow leading, and Fyfe coming later.

Some varieties ran out and some were rejected by the millers or in the market, though used by the grist mills for home use. Every failure in wheat set the farmer back and, coupled with the ague, put many in debt. At best it was "hard sleddin" for all and meant privation every time.

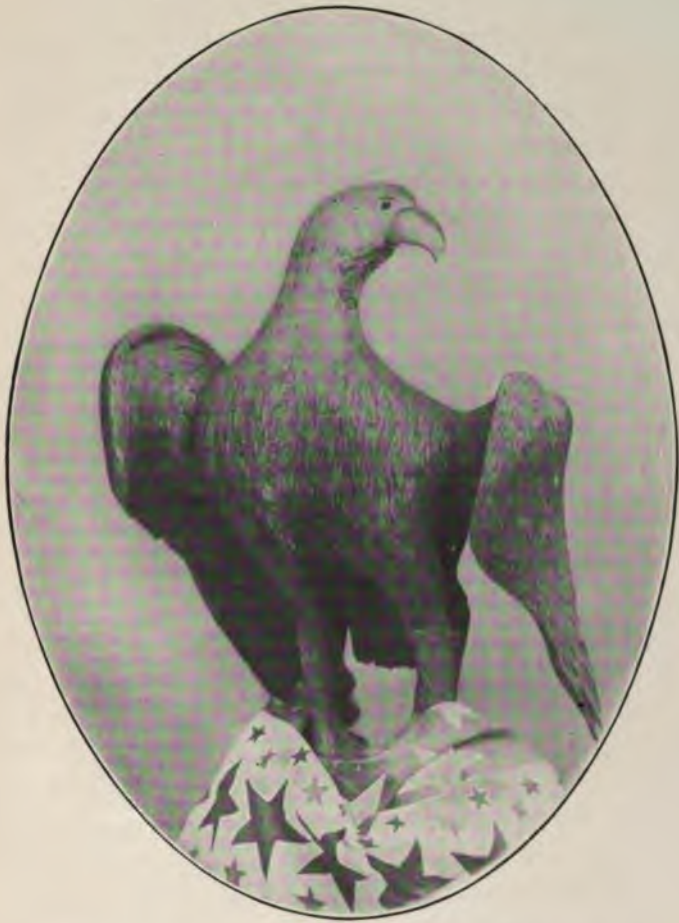
Imagine the feelings of the family, when, after getting started and passing through a year or two of the ague with its doctor bills and labor cost, looking at their one field of say 20 acres of wheat standing in all the beauty of the harvest, just heading out. Their pride and their hope is before them; brighter days are dawning. But in a day or two, a change is noticed. The color changes in spots, a sickly yellow. The heads begin to droop over. A few days more and the lifeless straw crinkled to the ground is all which meets the farmer's gaze; the fly has done its deadly work. He may not even get his seed back; it may not pay for threshing and is worthless for feed. Put yourself in that farmer's place for a moment and then consider the courage which carried him through several such crises and left him at last a sturdy old settler such as the few today remaining.

Out of need and helpfulness, grew trust. When one butchered, he sent fresh meat to all his neighbors, not even waiting for them to come for it. When his neighbor killed, he did the same. People had to borrow and lend; they exchanged work, for day laborers could not be had, or paid if had. In sickness and in death, the neighbors could be depended on. Even strangers were

implicity trusted. The settler would hail a passing team, inquire the driver's name and residence and then entrust him with money or small truck to make purchases in the city. He took the word of the stranger that he would be back on such a day and would leave the things, or buy, as requested. No one would charge for such service. But this practice did not outlast the life of a man, by any means. Yet it existed. In teaming, everybody expected to double teams with any one stuck on the road, mired or stalled by a heavy load and a hill. The man who did not return assistance when needed had little comfort in his neighborhood when his need came.

This generosity of mind and practice had another outlet. After the early settlers came, their friends in the east began to visit them. They came and staid delighted for weeks and months, and went away. Whole families "visited" in this way and many a farmer was the poorer for it. These easterners used to come to Milwaukee or Chicago and start out on foot or riding with some farmer. They carried approved rifles and expected "to see things" at every corner. By the time they had gone a day's travel, they became tired of the rifle and would sell or store it. This came after the country had taken some form. Yet many who came to spy remained to live.

Among the early settlers, the women had their part of the hardships and did their part in courage and endurance. It must be remembered that in those days for the best there were many modern conveniences lacking.



WOODEN EAGLE, FORMERLY OVER DOORWAY
OF FORT WINNEBAGO.

While those with means might have some conveniences, the body of the settlers had to do without them. Matches for instance, were a scarce article. Fires were maintained by covering at night and men not infrequently carried flint and steel with punk for lighting fire. Punk is a fungus growth in maple, which, when dried and rubbed soft, is a felt-like texture and takes a spark easily, which may be blown in connection with other tinder to a blaze. In case fire was lost, resort was had to borrowing of the neighbors, the coals being carried in ashes.

Many a woman has made her saleratus by burning corn cobs and getting the lye. Her starch was made from potatoes grated and washed in water; her soft water for laundry purposes by some ashes in a barrel of hard water. She had to make the garments worn by the family, but had no sewing machine. She carded the wool by hand or had it done at a carding mill, and then spun the yarn for family use. Weaving as a household duty had almost wholly disappeared. But carpets had to be made of rags. Stockings and mittens were knit at home. Even suspenders were knit and boys learned to make them.

Many women became skilfull nurses and conversant with all the medicinal plants of which a stock was laid in for the winter. They had to do their own dyeing and for this purpose availed themselves of native dye-stuffs. Butternut, sumach, hickory, were the chief. Sumach berries for black, the bark for yellow and the pith for orange. Soft maple sap made black ink. Gall balls

from the oaks helped out in blacks, and the drug stores were called on for alum, copperas, modder and logwood and some other simple standard dyes. Soap had to be made for the year's supply and this was woman's work. This was usually soft soap; but could be made hard by adding salt while still in the kettle.

Butter was made in a dash churn, without ice, and she who had a spring handy was lucky. It went, good and bad, all at the same price, usually in trade. The only sugar in use at first was a soft brown, called New Orleans. Hard white sugar came in conical loafs, which had to be broken with a hammer or sawed, and was quite out of the reach of the ordinary settler. The sugar came to the dealers in large casks and when these were almost empty, all the drippings of the mass had accumulated at the bottom and became soft, sticky and almost black. The cask and contents were then sold in a lump and many a farmer obtained what he called a good bargain when paying two or three dollars for a sugar cask.

The women had their hardest job when butchering time came. All the lard had to be tried out in kettles on the stove. The sausage and head-cheese to be made and perhaps the feet pickled. The mince meat and sausage had to be chopped by hand. The hams had to be cured and then smoked for home use. These were then packed in oats or bran to keep. The butchering usually came in the fall after the corn had been fed. It was cold and the scalding and the cleaning needed hot water. The combination caused much suffering for

their hands. The same fate befell the hands of the women when in the winter the washing was hung outdoors. Modern people of today can have appreciation of the aches these operations caused. If women went to market, or to the neighbors, they had to walk. The best they could expect was a wagon with possibly a spring seat. More often they rode on the bags of grain.

In many cases the women had to help outdoors, especially among the immigrants. The men had more than they could do and many women had to work out; but the farm and stock had to be kept going. They piled brush on the clearing and picked stones; they set up the bound sheaves in harvest and helped stack. They milked the cows and fed the stock at times. Those were days of large families, and children, when possible, had to go to school. This made additional burdens for the mother and deprived her of some assistance. But there was ever before them the hope of better times and a comfortable home to come of their labor.

Corn was shelled by drawing it ear by ear across the edge of a shovel or something with a similar edge, placed on a bench and held down by sitting on it. Larger quantities were sometimes threshed with a flail or thread out by horses. The corn was made into hominy by soaking it in lye made of ashes till the hulls peeled off. It was then rubbed till they were all removed, and cooked, whole or mashed, till thoroughly soft and mucilagenous.

The woman of the house had to see to it that sufficient pumpkin was cut into long thin coils, peeled and

dried for winter use. Preserves had to be made and anything of the fruit kind to be had was used. Wild plums, cherries, crab-apples, berries and even ground cherries came handy. There was no canning in those days. They were ingenious at getting up substitutes as, a combination of crackers and sorrel made an imitation apple pie. Many made root beer, fermented. In this were used such medicinal herbs as might be had, among which sarsaparilla was a favorite. Most people used salt risings for bread. Yeast, prepared by raising it and mixing with meal which formed in suitable cakes, was dried and laid by for use. The next batch was seeded from this. It will be seen that the women had to make almost everything and that without the conveniences of today. There were no plated table ware. Steel knives and two-tined forks were the rule. Some had whale oil lamps and these would burn pumpkin seed oil when it could be had. Tallow candles were made by dipping. The tallow was melted and poured on water in a boiler or other suitable dish, deep enough to let the candles down their length. The wicks were made and hung in little sticks which would reach across the dish. These sticks were dipped in the tallow in turn and hung to cool on a support, till the candle had acquired a right size. Some had tin candle molds in which the candles were cast about the wicks. Some used "sluts" which were dishes of lard with a cotton or linen rag in it hanging over the edge, which being lighted, served the purpose of a light, but occasioned some annoyance from spilling.

The postage on a letter from New York was 25 cents and was not always prepaid. There were neither postage stamps nor envelopes. The letter was so folded that it could be sealed with a wafer and was written all over save on the parts to be left on the outside. Every one had to know how to fold the letter and just what parts would be exposed. Then to get the money's worth, it was not unusual to write crosswise with red ink, so as to get in all that was to be said, several friends joining in a single letter. Letters were rare solace to the homesick settlers and doubly precious to the women.

Lime was an early necessity; mud would do for the start, but lime had to come. The earliest lime-kilns were rude pits in a hillside or even a large log heap on which the stones were piled. These stones were gathered from the surface, if no outcrop was near. The boys became experts in determining at sight which limestones would make lime and which, being composed of magnesia or clay in too large proportions, would not make lime. Many of these old pits may still be seen.

When the country was new, as the earliest settlers in the state found it, there were no stones in sight. But the drying of the soil and the tread of cattle with the help of frost, soon exposed more than were wanted. The boulders had a vicious and constant habit of always lying big end down, so that when the tip was exposed, one could never tell how big a stone was buried below. Often for the large boulders, a deep trench was dug beside the stone and then it was toppled over into it and covered too deep to annoy. There was always danger

in this lest the stone slide in before the digger could get out, or before the pit was properly done, when all the work had to be done over again. Fires were built over some and they were cracked to pieces by the heat.

It may be thought that the early settlers might live by hunting. Game and fish were abundant for years, but the men had something else to do. Not many of them hunted, but a few became almost professional hunters and trappers. Yet it is true that the family living was sometimes eked out with game. There was no such fever for hunting in those days as now. Men would not go a mile to shoot a prairie chicken. They husked corn all day while the chickens fed about them on the corn. The hunting fever grew as game disappeared. Shot guns were rare; the rifle was the weapon. Ten to twenty rods, 60 to 110 yards, was a good shot. And when at a turkey shoot some could hit at forty rods, it was the best of marksmanship. Rifle powder was used from a powder horn and the balls were all home made, being cast in molds. Percussion caps were used but were not waterproof. Some percussion pills were used. These were about the size of a homeopath pill and two or three were put into the priming hole and were struck by a pointed hammer. They were carried in a quill with a plug stopper. The pills were liable to fall out; if damp they jammed in the priming tube without exploding. They were hard to manage with cold fingers, or clumsy and excited ones. They had short vogue.

Prairie chickens and partridges were untamable. Raised under a hen, they would not follow her; they

would run and hide. Ducks would do well when kept in confinement, but would run off as soon as let at large. Geese domesticated easily and only occasionally flew off when the wild ones were migrating and calling each other. Quail were almost domestic naturally. They would stay about a farm if protected and wander hardly more than turkeys. They would feed with the chickens and at the door. Pigeons were not tamed. Foxes and coons made nice pets while young; coons were especially favorites. But when they became older, they would stray off and never return. As wild foxes or coons, these renegades were the worst out, from their audacity. Deer domesticated and were lovable pets. They could be left to run and if they strayed at a season, they came back. The gopher, the thirteen-striped marmot, was tamed somewhat; he was pugilistic and treacherous. Woodchucks were nice till they grew old and so not very desirable.

Of snakes, the massauger, a rattlesnake, was the only one much feared. It bit cattle to death, but hogs were immune and were generally believed to feed on them. Some hogs did. There were two plants whose roots were used as remedies for rattlesnake bites; one was that of the blazing star; the other a spiney plant suggestive of the agave or a cactus. But the standard was both whisky and gun powder applied to the wound and whisky taken internally. The snake always sounded the rattle if he had time and animals learned to shun it. He coiled with his head up and so was an easy prey to the scythe and sickle bar. Dogs learned to hunt

and kill them by grasping them in the middle after forcing them to spring, and then giving them a quick jerk, breaking them into three pieces.

Iron and steel were almost wholly imported. Swedish iron was best and was used where toughness and strength was required. English steel was the common material for edge tools, but was too expensive for any other use. Blacksmiths made almost anything in iron and steel. An old ax was "jumped" by taking off the steel on the bit, beating the bit back into a new head; then the old head was split and the old steel worked with new was drawn down for a new bit. The edge was the sixteenth of an inch or more thick and the farmer had to grind it down. He laid a springy board over the ax and held the back of the ax to it while the part to be ground rested on the stone. Then he sat on the board! How the boys hated a new ax! They had to turn the stone. Cast plows only were used save for breaking plows, and all came in the rough. They had to be polished by hand with sand or pieces of stone. This was tedious work. Scythes and snaths were pretty much what they are today; but the lower face was thin steel and the rest soft iron. Grinding away the iron on the upper side was hard on the boy, and that was where the most grinding was done to save the steel and get an edge. Wooden beetles were used in splitting logs, with iron wedges to start the split. Then wooden wedges, called "glues," made of iron-wood or maple, were used to force the final parting of the log. The log was split first through the middle, the line of split being

checked with the ax. Then the halves were turned on their flat side and the skill of the railsplitter was determined by the accuracy with which he directed an iron wedge in the middle of the log to the center. Failure meant a split and a spoiled rail or two. He had to plan his work so as to get the maximum of good rails out of every log. If his wooden wedges were too blunt or the timber tough, they would fly out if not struck just right. Fences were almost always made of rails, laid "Virginia" fashion. To make the fence straight, the line was staked out, an operation every farmer boy had to learn. This was done by ranging the line with stakes back and forth till it was straight from post to post. Then a hand stake was made with a slender rod of wood let in at right angles near the bottom, of a length equal to a half the width covered by a fence between external angles. The stake being set in the line, the end of the rod determined the distance of the corner from the center. Not everyone could make a straight "worm" or Virginia fence. These fences had to be hog proof, for the country was open and the hogs were razor-backs or "hoosiers" which would jump through between rails even above the third or fourth, by turning sidewise. They could always be depended on to find the place, but none were ever known to find it when it was attempted to drive them out of the corn.

These hogs would band together and fight the dogs, and even a man was sometimes in danger. Cattle running at large, upon finding a fresh carcass, or blood, gave a peculiar and well known signal upon which all other

cattle hearing answered in kind and ran to the place with great bellowing. They would run that way for half a mile or more. And then they would fight.

When the time came for replacing the mongrel stock with better breeds, much trouble ensued from the indifference of many who would not change and from the strong tendency of the better bred stock to prefer the half wild mongrels as mates. Gates would be broken and undermined fences seemed hardly to restrain this desire for "the unfit." Towns had to pass ordinances restraining stock from running at large and imposing fines for neglect in keeping certain animals under restraint.

The early settler had many trials and many tasks. There was no time for ornamentation. It was years before thought was turned to planting trees and flowers. But the German never forgot the little flower bed. As in our northern forests, the man, the ax and the tree could not live together; the tree had to go. So strong did his mania become that barren hillsides and waste land was stripped without due recompense, when legitimate clearing failed. Men would almost get up nights to cut down a tree. It was all trees were good for. But prairie farmers learned another lesson. They planted trees as soon as they could get around to it. In the middle ground, some of those magnificent burr-oak openings have been saved, but without their natural setting of grass and flowers. Even among these, the second growth often obscured their original beauty. It must not be forgotten when speaking of leisure and

“fixing up things,” how many things the settler had to do, which the second generation find done. Look for a moment at a well-ordered farm. In your mind subtract from its fixtures everything of a permanent nature made by man. Count the work that it represents. Then cover the farm with what the settler found there and again compute the work. Perhaps some glimmering idea may be formed of what the second generation owes to the first. Mix with this and add all the drawbacks for lack of means and of the simplest modern appliances. Accomplish all by hand with the most elementary tools. Then try to imagine the drawbacks of health and inevitable accident and isolation for lack of roads. Can imagination reach all this?

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CHAPTER XII

PIONEER ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENTS

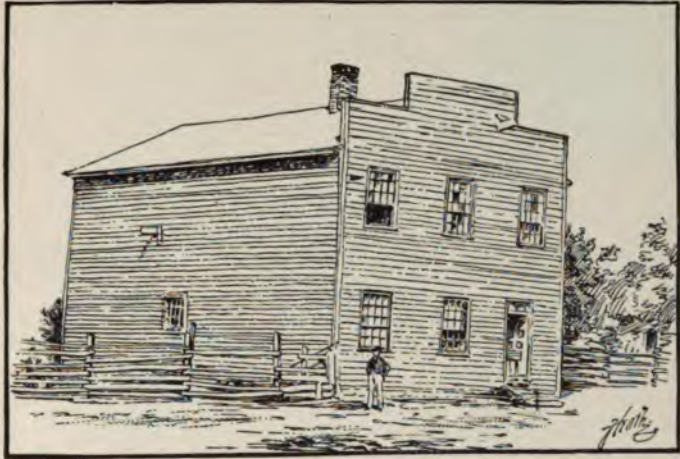
THE peopling of Wisconsin was simply the result of the succession of waves that swept over the country from east to west, each wave rolling farther than its predecessor, until the Pacific Ocean was reached. Progress was as slow as it was certain. Many things had to be overcome. There was reluctance, for instance, to getting too far away from some settlement of importance, as for many years the peril from Indians was equal to the fear of it which was felt along the frontier. Then, too, it is a fact that settlers in a new country are subject more or less to fatal epidemics, and this deterred many of the timid ones. Thus settlement of the western wilderness was effected by means of gradual encroachment. With less fear of Indian outbreaks, with more knowledge of the territory beyond the ever-changing line of settlement, and, what is equally important, with better means of transportation, the development of the west gained momentum.

It is interesting to observe that the waterways leading to and through the state played just as important a part in the settlement of the state under American sovereignty as they had played in the exploration of the state by the pioneers of New France. The first real pioneers of Wisconsin, however, the men who were to be foremost in the building up of the state, came by way of the Mississippi as well as by way of the Great Lakes. The lead mines near Dodgeville and Mineral Point attracted the Kentuckians and Virginians who had settled in the Valley of the Ohio and of the Mississippi.

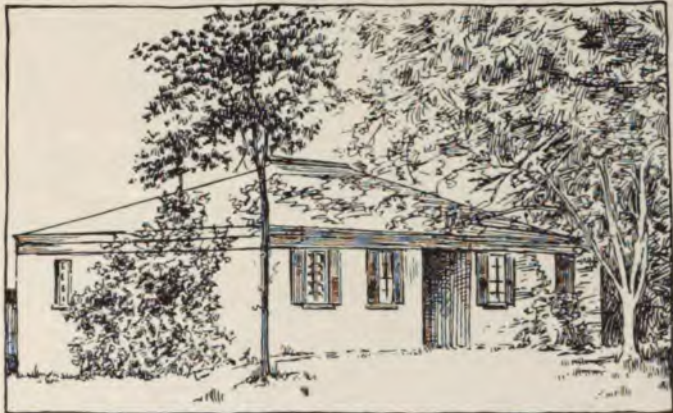
For the most part, this was a Scotch-Irish stock, sons of the pioneers that had led the way across the Alleghanies, had wrested the Northwest from Great Britain and early in the Nineteenth Century, had crossed the Rocky Mountains. By way of the Great Lakes, on the other hand, came hardy men and women from New York and New England. They, too, were important additions to the population of Wisconsin, and most influential in shaping her destiny.

The late Henry S. Baird, one of the pioneers of Green Bay, has recorded that in 1824, when his residence in the state began, the only settlements of white men in the state were those at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. Exclusive of the garrison at Fort Howard, Green Bay had a population of about six hundred, whites and half-breeds. The population of Prairie du Chien was smaller. La Pointe, on Lake Superior, possessed a fur-trading center in 1824, and Solomon Juneau, in 1818, had erected a permanent dwelling at Milwaukee. It has been pointed out that in the American sense of the word neither of these towns was really a settlement. Traffic in furs was the chief dependence of these places and this trade could not be relied upon to develop a permanent settlement.

In 1825 Judge James Duane Doty built the first frame house erected at Green Bay. It was too large for his purposes and he soon built a brick house—likewise the first of its kind erected in Green Bay. He sold the frame house to the national government and it was used as an Indian agency.



WISCONSIN'S FIRST CAPITOL—BELMONT.



JAMES DUANE DOTY'S RESIDENCE AT SHANTYTOWN.



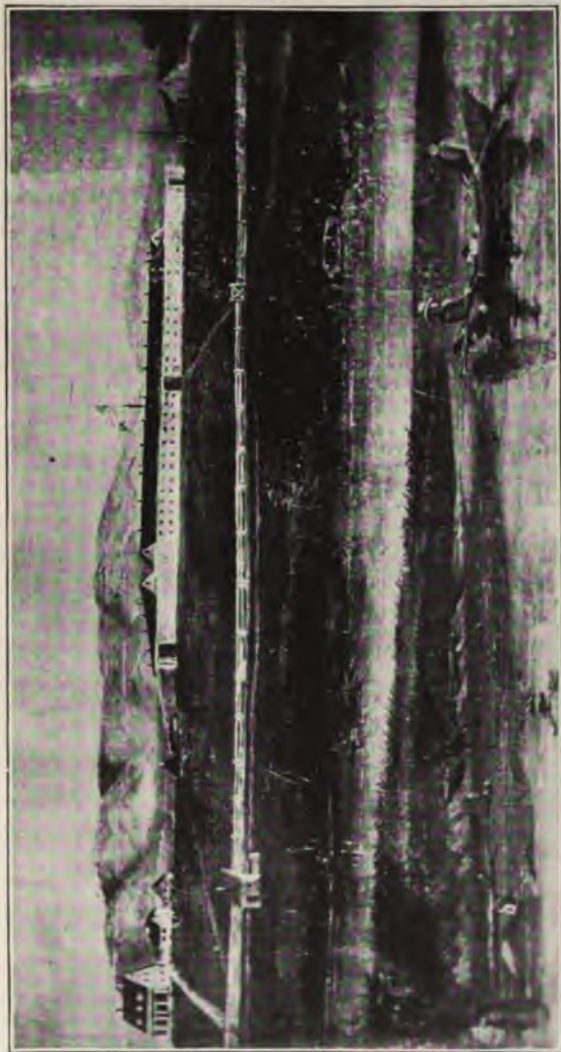
In 1832 the old settlement occupied both sides of the river for a distance of several miles. Opposite Fort Howard, which stood on the west side of the river, about a mile from its mouth, the town of Navarino had been built upon paper and some good houses were actually completed. Its site is that part of the modern city of Green Bay which lies nearest to the bay. Two miles farther up the river was the old village of "Shantytown" or "Menominee," which already was showing signs of decline. Still farther up the river were the farms of the *habitants*, narrow strips of land fronting upon the stream and running back considerable distances.

The origin of Shantytown is interesting. About 1819 Colonel Joseph Lee Smith, father of General Edmund Kirby Smith of the Confederate Army, caused the removal of the post from Fort Howard to an eminence on the right bank, about two miles farther up the river. The followers of the army, collecting between the stockades and the river, built sheds, some of them half way into the bank, which served as stores. From the character of these buildings the place became known as Shantytown. The fort, which the commandant modestly named Camp Smith, was a half mile from the river, which it did not command to advantage, and for this reason his superiors ordered that it be abandoned. This was a blow to Shantytown, but it continued for years to be something of a commercial center. Within its precincts Daniel Whitney, one of the most enterprising of traders, had built a store, and Robert Irwin, Jr., had built a comfortable residence.

William Dickson, another trader, built a store and dwelling in the town and soon Henry S. Baird and Judge Doty built their homes in the place. It was the site of the first court-house and jail erected west of Lake Michigan. The construction of the Episcopal Mission School and a Catholic church and school house followed. Shantytown dwindled after Navarino and Deperre were platted in 1832.

Prairie du Chien, according to tradition, took its name from an Indian chief named Le Chien, or Dog, whose village at one time stood somewhere upon the prairie that forms the other part of the name. In 1816 the settlement consisted of twenty-five or thirty houses, occupied mostly by traders, and situate on the banks of the Mississippi River. In high water the site of the settlement was an island. This afterward became known as the old village of Prairie du Chien. Morgan L. Martin narrates that in 1828 the settlement consisted of only a dozen or twenty houses.

The first frame building in Prairie du Chien was erected in 1826 by James H. Lockwood. He sent men up to the Black River to get out the timbers for the frames and the shingles and boards and to bring them down to the Prairie. There was no carpenter in the place and Lockwood went on board a keel boat to inquire for one, with the result that he engaged an unprepossessing workman at \$1.50 a day and board. The house was 30 by 26 feet on the ground, and two stories high, with a one-story wing, 16 by 20 feet, used as a store. The main part of the building really had three



FORT CRAWFORD, FROM THE RIVER.

Erected at Prairie du Chien, in 1816, and named in honor of President Monroe's Secretary of the Treasury.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support informed decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in enhancing data management and analysis. It discusses how modern software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and reporting, thereby improving efficiency and accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data management, such as data quality, security, and privacy. It provides strategies to mitigate these risks and ensure that data is handled in a responsible and secure manner.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key findings and recommendations. It stresses the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation to ensure that data management practices remain effective and aligned with the organization's goals.



floors, the ground floor being a cellar kitchen. Stairs led to what was properly the first floor, the landing being in a hall that ran through the whole length of the building on the south, adjoining the store. From this hall stairs led to the upper floor. The house was afterward sold to the United States and, while he was in command at Fort Crawford, General Zachary Taylor and his family occupied it. Later General Brooke obtained an appropriation from the Congress for repairs, and with this money he razed the building, except part of the cellar wall, and erected an entirely new structure at a cost of about \$7,000.

The settlement of Wisconsin received its first considerable impetus from the exploiting of the lead mines of the upper Mississippi, near the line that divides Illinois and Wisconsin. The existence of lead deposits in that region had become known to the French soon after the middle of the Nineteenth Century. The Indians jealously guarded the mines, however, and used the ore in barter. They supplied lead to the French and afterward to the British. In the year 1810 they exchanged 400,000 pounds of lead with Nicholas Boilvin, the American Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, and received in return goods from the stock at the agency. In 1816 a St. Louis trader named John Shaw, whose headquarters were at Prairie du Chien, disguised himself as a Frenchman, in order to insure a welcome at the hands of the Indians, and visited their mines. His description of the Indian method of smelting is very interesting. In sloping ground they dug a hole two

feet deep and about as wide at the top, shaped like a mill hopper. From a point a little lower down the slope a channel about a foot high and of the same width was dug to the bottom of the hopper. Narrow stones were laid in the bottom of the hopper, which was then filled with ore. The channel was filled with dry wood, which was ignited, with the result that the molten metal flowed through the stones into the channel and was deposited upon the surface of the slope in masses of sixty and seventy pounds. Some of the Indian workings were 50 feet deep and out of some of these hundreds of tons of rock and ore would be hoisted by means of a leather basket and a rawhide rope.

In 1822 the richness of these mines was emphasized by the newspapers of St. Louis and shortly afterward men, mostly from the South, began to flock to the "Diggings." Troops despatched from Prairie du Chien and Rock Island served the purpose of intimidating the Indians, to whom this invasion of miners was most unwelcome. Soon a number of newcomers were mining and smelting ore. Some ascended the Mississippi by boat, while other parties came on horseback. Galena was the mining center at first, but it did not take long to extend the field of operations into what is now Wisconsin. Some of the Southern adventurers brought negroes to work the mines and the population increased at a rapid rate. So did the output of the mines. In 1825 it was estimated that the population of the lead regions was 200. The product that year was 439,473 pounds. Three years later the population had increased

to 10,000, including 500 women and 100 free blacks. The product increased to 12,957,100 pounds during the same period. One man who sank a shaft into an old Indian digging near Hazel Green struck block ore within less than five feet of the surface and the next day he took out 17,000 pounds of the mineral. After he had piled up 100,000 pounds of ore, he abandoned the mines, but another man explored it farther and to such good purpose that he took out 150,000 pounds of the mineral.

In the main the Indian method of smelting the ore was adopted by the pioneer miners. Like the Indians, they blasted the rock by heating it and then throwing water upon it.

Teams of oxen hauled the smelted ore to Galena, whence it was shipped down the Mississippi to St. Louis and New Orleans. The smelters were required to pay to the government a tax of 10 per cent. of the product and to transport the government's share fifty miles or more to the United States depository. The miners protested against this tax, but it remained in force until 1848. The excitement about that time over the discovery of gold in California attracted not a few adventurers of the lead mining district. The mines have been in operation ever since, however, and their total output has been a material addition to the wealth of Wisconsin.

In 1836 the few huts which formed the settlement of Mineral Point were ranged along a road running through a ravine. The miners were cheerful and appeared to be happy and prosperous. The town was

popularly known as "Shake Rag" or "Shake-Rag-Under-the-Hill." Of necessity some of the men had to cook and wash while the rest were working at digging lead. When the meal was ready, the cook would fly a rag from an upright pole as a signal to the miners upon the hill—hence the settlement's nickname.

"Among the other evidences of the rude and primitive condition of the town," an early day traveler has recorded, "was the almost unceasing howling and barking of the wolves during the night, around and within its very borders; sounding, at times, as though the town was infested by scores of the brutes, much to the annoyance and alarm of timid strangers."

The jail, built of rough logs, was not more than ten or twelve feet square. Its roof of flattened logs was just above the head of any man who might be inside of the building. The door, consisting of inch boards and hung on wooden hinges, was fastened on the outside with a chain and an ordinary padlock. One morning the jail was found tilted at one corner, a stake or stone holding it a foot or more above the ground, while the prisoner, a lank Yankee charged with horse stealing, was nowhere to be found.

Other settlements in the lead region were contemporaneous with Mineral Point. In 1826, Jesse W. Shull, after whom Shullsburg is named, built a cabin in that particular locality and began prospecting for lead ore. The Indians forced him to flee, however, but the place afterward became an important mining center. Soon afterward Henry and Jean Pierre Brugnion Gratiot,

brothers of General Charles Gratiot, the original builder of Fortress Monroe, bought from the Winnebago Indians the right to mine lead in the vicinity of what is now Shullsburg. They had previously established a furnace on the banks of Fever River, but they had found that location unsuitable for smelting because of the dearth of timber. At what has ever since been known as Gratiot's Grove they built a new smelting plant. Plenty of timber was available and soon much of the output of the mines, even those of Illinois, was carried to their furnaces. Nine furnaces were kept busy during the mining season and before Shullsburg came into existence the population of Gratiot's Grove reached 1,500.

There were happy times in the little settlement. Some of the pioneers were most intelligent, even accomplished. The wife of Henry Gratiot was a daughter of Stephen Hempstead, a subordinate and steadfast friend of Captain Nathan Hale and his companion upon his fatal mission. Jean Gratiot's wife was a daughter of a lady in waiting to Marie Antoinette. Another resident, Mrs. John R. Coonce, was a daughter of John Bradbury, a noted English botanist. With courage and cheerfulness these women faced the hardships and the dangers of frontier life. The admirable spirit which they possessed enabled them to enjoy their surroundings. Mrs. Jean Gratiot, Parisienne by birth as well as by education, says of Gratiot's Grove, as she first saw it in 1827: "Never in all my wanderings had I beheld a more delightful prospect; the beautiful rolling prairies

extending to the Blue Mounds, a distance of thirty miles, and the magnificent grove, as yet untouched by the felling axe, forming a graceful frame to the lovely landscape." The first days were like camping out, she states, and it was a happy life. In the winter gay surprise parties, with sleigh-bells jingling, would visit the Grove, and all would spend the evening in dancing. In return the people of the Grove would enjoy pleasure parties at Galena. Hospitality was cordial indeed. Friends and strangers all were welcome; all were fed and given beds in which to rest. In 1832 the breaking out of the Black Hawk war necessitated sending the women to Galena and the happy little settlement was plunged into sorrow.

The trade of the lead region became the subject of strife between New York on one hand and St. Louis and New Orleans on the other. While the lead mines were developed by men from the South, squatters and prospectors from Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, as well as kindred spirits from Southern Illinois, the pioneers who settled along the western shore of Lake Michigan were for the most part from New York. The first question that arose was whether the lead produced by the mines should be shipped down the Mississippi to St. Louis or to New Orleans, or whether it should be shipped East by way of the Great Lakes. For some years, to be sure, the Mississippi route enjoyed a monopoly of the traffic, but it was greatly handicapped by the shallow rapids at the head of Rock Island, and at the mouth of the Des Moines River. At both these rapids,

chains of rocks ran from shore to shore, and the water was shallow, particularly in the dry season. The descent was great and the channel crooked. Boats drawing more than two feet of water were likely to be wrecked by striking upon the rocks. Freight boats, in order to pass the rapids going either way, had to transfer their cargoes to small flatboats, which, in ascending, were towed twelve miles by oxen or horses, and, in descending, floated down the current. In either case the freight had to be handled again—reloaded upon the steamboat. These conditions increased the cost of transportation during shallow water all the way from 100 to 150 per cent. over the schedule that prevailed during high water. The Southern cities made spasmodic attempts to remedy these conditions, but for the most part they under-estimated the advantages of inland sea shipping and they rested under a false sense of security. The inevitable occurred. The Northwest rapidly broke away from the South and became affiliated with the East. As early as 1836 a company was formed in Chicago to operate a line of wagons between that city and the upper waters of the Illinois River, near Kankakee, and to run flatboats thence to the head of steamboat transportation and to employ steamboats for the rest of the distance to St. Louis and other Mississippi River cities. Six score of the merchants of St. Louis and Alton, who had been trading with New Orleans, actually entered into a contract to get their supplies from the East in this way.

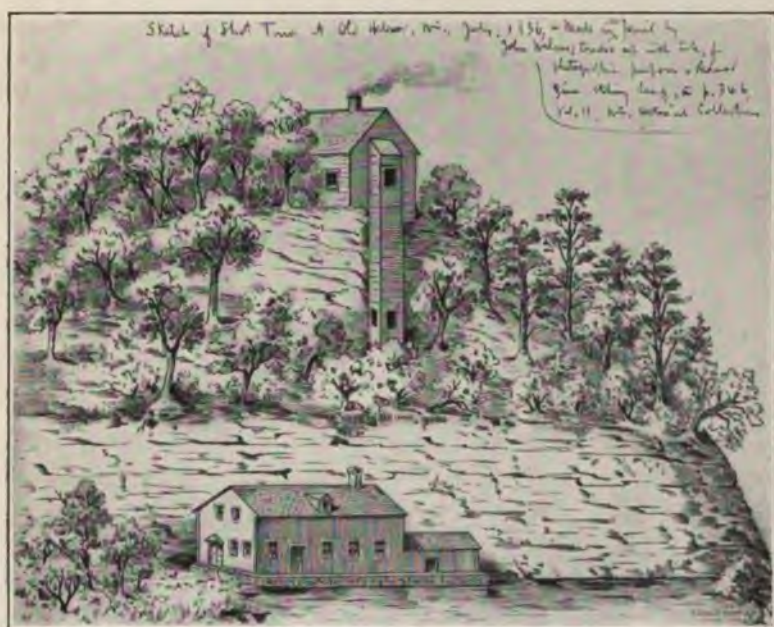
The mining of lead resulted in the manufacture of

shot in Wisconsin, and this industry helped to extend shipping by way of the Great Lakes. Daniel Whitney, together with other residents of Green Bay, and several Detroit gentlemen, began building a shot tower at Helena, on the Wisconsin River, in the year 1831. The land was owned by the government and it was not yet open to settlers. A vertical shaft, 100 feet deep, was sunk and a drift connecting with it was driven a distance of 90 feet. This work was done under the management of one T. B. Shaunce and despite crude methods and the absence of engineering appliances, it was carried out in a very satisfactory manner. A shot tower, built of wood, rose 80 feet above the mouth of the shaft. John Metcalf was the first shot dropper, and later he became manager of the plant. There were several changes in ownership, the first one in 1836, but for thirty years, with very little intermission, the manufacture of shot was continued at Helena.

The process was interesting. In a large kettle nearby, the lead was tempered with arsenic, so as to make it sufficiently brittle, and next it was run into "pigs." It was then taken to the melting house, directly over the mouth of the shaft, where it was melted again, two kettles being used for the purpose. The molten metal was taken up in ladles, which were perforated at the sides, and these were tilted, forcing the metal out in little drops, which would assume spherical form in dropping 180 feet. The water in the cistern at the bottom of the shaft would cool the shot. The wet shot was carried in small cars to the finishing house at the mouth



FORT HOWARD IN 1851.



SHOT TOWER—OLD HELENA 1836.



7

of the draft, then put into a hopper that discharged into a drum revolving upon a shaft turned by hand and about which a furnace fire played. The shot, thus dried in the downward passage, were next dipped into the polishing barrel, which contained a little black lead, and then sent down a series of inclined planes, separated by small spaces which only the perfect globules could leap. The imperfect shot would fall into troughs and be remelted. The good shot would be separated, according to size, by means of a series of sieves. Then it was placed in bins and afterward packed in sacks. As a rule a day's run of shot would be 5,000 pounds. However, less than a sixth of the shot "dropped" would be perfect. In the earlier years Green Bay received much of the output, but later most of it was shipped to Milwaukee. In 1841 twelve tons of shot were received in Milwaukee during a single week. In 1844 twenty tons of shot were received in a single day. The market was soon extended to Detroit and Buffalo and even to Montreal. The plant was abandoned in 1861.

It was in 1839 that the lead miners began shipping lead to the East by way of Milwaukee. Soon this traffic became very heavy. In summer, when the drivers could sleep in their wagons and their oxen could find fodder in plenty along the roadside, it cost only fifty cents per hundred pounds to haul lead to Milwaukee, where it was loaded upon boats bound for Buffalo. In 1839 it cost from two dollars to three dollars a barrel to ship flour from St. Louis to Galena. The total cost of shipping lead from the mining region to Buffalo, by

way of Milwaukee, was 25 per cent cheaper than the expense of shipping it to New York by the New Orleans route. Besides, the smelter received returns from his shipment within four weeks after it had been made by the Milwaukee route, while it took three months or longer for him to get returns by way of the New Orleans route. The miners, moreover, got supplies more cheaply by way of Milwaukee. For instance, the teams could haul back to the mines salt, which, purchased at Milwaukee for \$2.50 a barrel, could be sold at the mines for \$7.50. Lumber, shingles and different kinds of merchandise were hauled to the mines in the wagons which carried lead to Milwaukee. Early in 1842 the Legislature of New York reduced the Erie Canal tolls on bar and pig lead and this policy gave an impetus to the shipping of lead by way of Milwaukee. The manufacture of white lead was started at Buffalo soon afterward and it increased the demand for lead from the Wisconsin mines. In 1843 Milwaukee exported 2,200,000 pounds of lead and 250,000 pounds of shot. The construction of a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi increased Milwaukee's hold upon the lead traffic and greatly facilitated the shipment of Wisconsin wheat to the East. The completion in 1851 of the canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River reversed the condition which had prevailed in former years—St. Louis, upon which the Northwest had been dependent so long, now became dependent, in a measure, upon the Northwest. So, in Wisconsin, Southern influence, long predominant, gave way to Eastern control.

Eastern men guided the state in its early days and Eastern capital developed the resources of the state.



CHAPTER XIII
BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE



THE organization of Michigan as a state in 1836 necessitated organizing the country to the west of it as a territory. Judge James Duane Doty, twelve years before, had begun an agitation for separate territorial government, but the name that he first selected was Chippewau. In a petition to Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri he represented that Detroit, which at that time was the seat of territorial government, was six hundred miles distant; that it was virtually inaccessible by land during the whole of the year and was entirely inaccessible during the winter; that the votes of citizens living west of Lake Michigan could not be sent to Detroit in time to be counted and that the residents of the western part of Michigan Territory ought to have a government of their own as a means of protecting themselves against the many warlike Indians who dwelt among them.

East of the Mississippi River the southern boundary of the territory proposed by Judge Doty was to be the northern boundary line of the State of Illinois, crossing the Mississippi River at the head of Rock Island, while west of the Mississippi the southern boundary was to be the northern boundary line of Missouri. The western boundary, it was provided, should be the Missouri River. On the north the territory was to extend to the international boundary, while on the east it would be bounded by a line drawn from Drummond's Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, to the southern extremity of Bois Blanc in Lake Huron; thence by a

line drawn equi-distant from the island and the mainland to the center of the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron and thence up the middle of the straits and Lake Michigan to the northeastern corner of Illinois.

Judge Doty made strenuous endeavors to persuade the Congress to create the new territory. He wrote explanatory letters to leading members of that body, repeating his original reasons and advancing new ones, but the national lawmakers were slow to act. In 1827 Doty expressed a willingness to name the proposed new territory Wiskonsan, in honor of the principal river of the present state. This was a corruption of "Ouisconsin," the French adaption of the Indian name of the river. The next year the residents of Detroit sent to the Congress a strong protest against giving up that part of the upper peninsula which lies east of the meridian of Mackinac. They asserted that they were enjoying active trade relations with that region and that it was bound to them by social and political ties. The committee on territories of the house had virtually decided in favor of the Doty measure, but the protest from Detroit caused its defeat for the time. In 1830, Doty, renewing the agitation, presented a bill providing for the same boundaries as those laid out for Chippewau, but substituting the name Huron. Two years later the committee of the house reported that in forming a new territory, the region east of the meridian of Mackinac should be retained by Michigan, "as more in consonance with the Ordinance of 1787." Then came the dispute between Ohio and Michigan. The result was that

Ohio obtained a narrow strip of land along the southern edge of Michigan, while Michigan, as an unwelcome recompense, received the entire upper peninsula—a gift that it took the Wolverine State many years to appreciate.

The bill establishing the Territory of Wisconsin was approved April 20th, 1836. The territory embraced not only the entire area of the present state, but the region lying farther west between the international boundary, the White Earth and Missouri Rivers and the northern boundary of the state of Missouri. The northeastern boundary of the territory was the result of an error in a map. William C. Preston of South Carolina, who was a member of the state committee on judiciary, expressed the opinion that the region lying between the meridian of Mackinac on the east and the Mississippi River and a line drawn north from its source to the international boundary would make this fifth state to be carved out of the Northwest Territory altogether too large. He pointed to a map which represented the Montreal and Menominee Rivers as meeting at Lac Vieux Desért, thus making the upper peninsula appear as an island, and remarked that that "would be a fair division of the country." The lake is really the head-water of the Wisconsin River and neither the Montreal nor the Menominee rises in its immediate vicinity. Preston persisted in his position, however, and in consequence the upper peninsula was lost to Wisconsin. Delegate Lyon of Michigan protested against this division. Nature had erected impassable barriers between

the upper and lower peninsulas, he declared, and there could never be any community of interest between them. His people did not want their state extended. Thomas H. Benton, as chairman of the senate committee on judiciary, reported the Ohio-Michigan measure and the Wisconsin territorial bill at the same time. In the house, Elias Howell of Ohio offered to the Wisconsin bill an amendment that would have made the line of division from Michigan run "from the middle of Green Bay to the head of Chocolate River," in the upper peninsula, and thence down that river to Lake Superior. This amendment, if it had been adopted, would have given the greater part of the upper peninsula to Wisconsin, but it was defeated.

The act of 1846 enabling Wisconsin to become a state was more specific regarding the northeastern boundary. It provided that it shall run through Lake Michigan and Green Bay to the mouth of the Menominee River, thence up the channel of that river to the Brulé River, thence up that river to Lake Brulé, thence along the south shore of that lake to the center of the channel between Middle and South Islands in Lac Vieux Desért, thence in a direct line to the headwaters of the Montreal River and down the main channel of the Montreal to the middle of Lake Superior.

On the south, too, Wisconsin was deprived of territory that belonged to her under the Ordinance of 1787. If the Congress had complied with that Ordinance, the northern boundary of Illinois would have been a line extended west from the southern extremity

of Lake Michigan. The Illinois statehood bill, introduced by Nathaniel Pope, delegate from that territory, provided that this line should constitute its northern boundary, but he soon formed the opinion that his proposed state ought to have a larger share of the lake coast, and, so he proposed an amendment to make latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$ the northern boundary. The tract embraced in this enlarged boundary is more than sixty-one miles from north to south and extends from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. It embraces a surface of 8,500 square miles, and includes the sites of Chicago, Waukegan, Rockford, Galena, Dixon, Freeport and other flourishing cities. Mr. Pope urged his amendment because it would ally Illinois closely to the North, whereas if she were isolated upon the Mississippi and other south flowing rivers, it would be to her interest, "in case of national disruption, to join a southern or a western confederacy." He had his way. After Wisconsin had become a territory, however, bold efforts were made to recover the tract which Illinois had so artfully obtained from the Congress. In December, 1838, Governor Dodge approved a memorial to the Congress, which had been adopted by the territorial legislature, urging the restoration of the strip in question "as a matter of justice." The federal senate committee on judiciary pigeon-holed the memorial. In December, 1839, a committee of the territorial legislature reported resolutions declaring that the granting of this region to Illinois was in violation of the Ordinance of 1787 and requesting the citizens of Wisconsin territory to

vote upon the question of statehood and calling upon the residents of the disputed strip to express their sentiments on the question. It also invited the latter to send delegates to a Wisconsin constitutional convention if one were called. These resolutions were adopted and Governor Dodge approved them. Public meetings held at Galena, Rockford and Belvedere, all in Illinois, declared for Wisconsin. A convention held at Rockford, with Davies, Stephenson, Winnebago, Booke, McHenry, Ogle, Carroll, Whitesides and Rock Island counties represented, formally asserted that Wisconsin was entitled to the tract in dispute, consisting of fourteen Illinois counties in all. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the vote was almost wholly against forming a state and at a meeting held at Green Bay the resolutions adopted by the legislature were viewed with "concern and regret." This was aimed at premature statehood, however, rather than at the attempt to change the Illinois boundary. An attempt in 1841 to revive the territorial claims of Wisconsin was laid on the table by the legislature. In October of that year, however, James Duane Doty, who, as territorial delegate, had in the Congress unsuccessfully attempted to get consideration of a bill changing the southern boundary of Wisconsin, became governor of the territory. In his first message he advocated statehood and he mentioned the boundary question. If the district "now under the jurisdiction of Illinois," he declared, should sustain their claim to be made a part of Wisconsin, then the territory would



TERRITORIAL EXECUTIVE MANSION.



DOTY'S HOUSE, DOTY'S ISLAND 1900.



have a total population of 100,000, whereas the Ordinance of 1787 required only 60,000 for statehood. This was in December. During the following February the committee on territorial affairs reported to the legislative council that Wisconsin had a right to claim admission as a state, with limits extending south to a line drawn due west from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, but expressed some doubt as to whether it was expedient to demand that right immediately. D. A. J. Upham of Milwaukee, a member of the committee, strongly avowed in a speech that Wisconsin could rightfully assume jurisdiction over Northern Illinois. "Let us maintain that right at all hazards," he cried. "With legal right and immutable justice on our side, the moral and physical force of Illinois, of the whole Union, cannot make us retrace our steps." His committee reported a bill to refer the question of statehood to the people at the next election and to invite the residents of the disputed territory to vote at the same time upon the question of uniting with Wisconsin in forming a state. In the house the committee on territorial affairs reported against taking immediate steps toward asking admission to the Union as a state. Neither report was acted upon by the legislature.

During the same month of February the citizens of Stephenson County took steps to have the people of the fourteen counties vote upon the proposition to unite with Wisconsin. At this election, which was held March 5th, 570 votes were cast. With one exception all were declarations in favor of Wisconsin. Governor

Doty, in June, informed the governor of Illinois that all of these fourteen counties were within the limits of the fifth state provided by the Ordinance of 1787 and that Illinois was "exercising an accidental and temporary jurisdiction" over them. The commissioners appointed to locate the lands granted by the United States to Illinois had for the most part made their selections from the fourteen counties and Governor Doty's letter was a protest against their action. Two months later his position received strong support from the citizens of Boone County, who, by a vote of 495 to 1, declared in favor of becoming part of Wisconsin. Thereupon Governor Doty, acting individually, called upon the people of the territory to vote upon the question of statehood on the fourth Monday of September. The people paid little attention to the matter. Only a small number voted and three fourths of these were against the plan. Then the Governor asked the legislature to call an election to determine the question of statehood and for the people of Northern Illinois to join in the movement. The legislature declined to do so. In August, 1843, the governor, nothing daunted, issued a proclamation similar to the one that had gone forth from his office the year before. Only an eighth of all the citizens of Wisconsin voted this time and nearly all repudiated the governor's sentiments. The governor was persistent, however. In December he again called the attention of the legislature to Wisconsin's claim to the disputed tract. A special committee investigated the matter and reported

that in fixing the northern boundary of Illinois at $42^{\circ} 30'$ the Congress had violated the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. The legislature adopted this report and sent a very strong address to the Congress in which these words were used: "Had we formed a constitution and state government, and extended our jurisdiction over all the territory appropriated by the Ordinance to the fifth state, though it might have involved us in a conflict with Illinois * * * no one could truly say we had done more than exercise our lawful rights in a lawful manner." The address declared that Wisconsin would resort to every "means in her power to assert and protect her rights * * * Whatever may be the sacrifice, the integrity of her boundaries must be observed." The Congress paid no attention to this belligerent address.

The enabling act of 1846 confirmed the line of $42^{\circ} 30'$. The people of Wisconsin at no time showed the eagerness to include in the new state the fourteen counties of Northern Illinois that those counties showed to be included. The two first state constitutional conventions accepted the southern boundary defined by the Congress and Wisconsin was unjustly deprived of one of the richest and most populous portions of the Northwest.

Wisconsin was destined to suffer a reduction of territory on her northwestern boundary. The details of this are more properly treated in the chapter dealing with the creation of Wisconsin as a state, but here it may be mentioned that under the provisions of the Or-

dinance of 1787, all the region north to the international boundary line and east of the Mississippi and a line drawn from the source of that stream to the international boundary belonged to Wisconsin. When the state of Wisconsin was erected, however, the Congress set aside all the territory lying west of the St. Louis and St. Croix Rivers as the nucleus of a state still to be born.

None of the other states carved out of the Northwest territory were deprived of so much land apportioned by the Ordinance of 1787 as was unjustly taken from Wisconsin. On the south, on the northeast and on the northwest she was shorn of rich domain to which she was entitled under the great charter by which the Northwest was created. If the Congress had respected the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 with respect to the laying out of the Northwest Territory into states, Wisconsin would be by far the wealthiest, most populous and most powerful state of the whole Northwest, for Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, to say nothing of the principal cities of Northern Michigan, would be part of the state. The line of division between Wisconsin and Illinois had to be arbitrary, and with the partition of territory made in that direction no serious fault can justly be found, if one is disposed to overlook the interest of the Ordinance of 1787. The northern peninsula, however, is naturally part and parcel of Wisconsin, and will always be more closely allied to it than it will be to the territory that constitutes the balance of the State of Michigan. The natural barriers

between the lower and upper peninsulas will always keep the peoples of the two districts apart and will prevent them from enjoying those friendly relations that come from close intercommunication. Between Wisconsin and the upper peninsula the barrier is arbitrary, nothing more, and for all purposes except that of government the residents of the two districts are practically one great community. The northwestern boundary is also somewhat arbitrary in its character. It is true that part of Northwestern Wisconsin is more in touch socially and commercially with Minnesota than with its own state, but it is with that portion of Minnesota which, under the Ordinance of 1787, should be part of Wisconsin, that this friendly intimacy exists. The extreme upper Mississippi would have been a far more natural and logical line of separation.



CHAPTER XIV
TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION



DURING the period that Wisconsin formed part of Michigan Territory, several counties were created in Michigan. The first of these, created at the time that Michigan became a territory, in 1818, were Brown and Crawford. The seats of these two counties were Green Bay and Prairie du Chien respectively—the only settlements east of Lake Michigan at the time. It was provided that court should be held at those places for one term annually and an additional judge for the territory was provided. Judge James Duane Doty, who at the time was only twenty-four years of age, was appointed to the bench under this provision. Some years later, in 1829, the session of court assigned for Prairie du Chien was changed to Mineral Point, the seat of Iowa county, newly organized.

The first legislative council of Michigan Territory assembled at Detroit in June, 1824. Robert Irwin, Jr., of Green Bay was a member of the Council from 1824 to 1830. He was a member of the Council of 1831, but he did not attend the session. Morgan L. Martin of Brown county and Henry Dodge of Iowa county were both elected to the Legislature of 1832-3, but Dodge did not attend either of the annual sessions. In 1833 Judge Doty was elected a member of the new Council, the sixth. While the returns which had been forwarded to Detroit showed that William S. Hamilton also had been elected to the council over Morgan L. Martin, the returns from Crawford changed the result, and although they were transmitted to Detroit, Hamil-

ton did not claim his seat. Martin was not only admitted to the council, but he was chosen president at the session of 1835.

During the session of 1834 the boundaries of Brown and Iowa counties were established. Brown county was bounded on the north by Michilimackinac county, on the east by Lake Michigan, on the west by the Wisconsin River and on the south by the line between townships eleven and twelve in the Green Bay land district. Iowa county consisted of the region bounded on the north by the Wisconsin River, on the west by the Mississippi, on the south by Illinois and on the east by the line between ranges eight and nine east. The tract lying between Lake Michigan on the east, Illinois on the south, Iowa county on the west and Brown county on the north was laid out as Milwaukee county, with the proviso that it should be attached to Brown county for judicial purposes. The next year, however, Milwaukee county became an independent organization.

In June, 1836, the Congress passed an act admitting Michigan to statehood, upon certain conditions, mostly with regard to boundaries. Because of difficulties connected with the boundaries, it was not until January 26, 1837, that the state of Michigan became an accomplished fact. From that portion of the territory not included in the new state, the election of a delegate to the Congress and of a legislative council had been provided for. The future territory of Wisconsin became vested with the governmental powers of the territory of Michigan. Stevens T. Mason, secretary of the territory of

Michigan, and acting governor, issued a call for the election of a legislative council and at the same time he apportioned delegates among the various counties included in the new territory. Brown and Milwaukee counties, constituting the First District, were called upon to elect five of the fifteen members of the council; Iowa county, the Second District, to elect three members; Crawford county, the Third District, to elect three, and Dubuque and Des Moines counties, across the Mississippi, and constituting the Fourth and Fifth Districts respectively, to elect two delegates each. The estimated population of these counties was 15,000. The counties composed the altered territory of Michigan. In fact, when Mason was elected governor of the state of Michigan, President Jackson appointed John S. Horner to succeed him as governor of the territory of Michigan. The council was required to convene at Green Bay, Friday, January 1, 1836.

Much interest was manifested in the election of a delegate to the Congress. At a large meeting held in Green Bay June 10th, 1835, Judge Doty was nominated for delegate. He was a Democrat and he was nominated as a member of that party, which was supposed to be predominant in the territory. Shortly after Doty had been nominated, citizens of Brown county called upon Morgan L. Martin to become a candidate for delegate and he accepted the call. He, too, was a Democrat. The citizens of Iowa county were not inclined to support either of the Green Bay men. They held a meeting at Mineral Point and nominated George Wallace Jones.

He was a Democrat, and his leading supporters belonged to that party, but he was not termed a Democratic nominee. His candidacy was strongly endorsed at a meeting of the citizens of Dubuque. Thomas Pendleton Burnett of Prairie du Chien and David Irvin of Green Bay were both called to run for the office, but Burnett declined to do so and Irvin made no active canvass. A few residents of the new state of Michigan decided to exercise what they claimed to be their rights as citizens of the territory and nominated William Woodbridge as their candidate. The contest, however, was between Jones, representing the western section of the territory, and Doty and Martin, representing the eastern section. Jones was elected.

There were many candidates for the Legislative Council and great interest was manifested in the result. The council elected was as follows:

Brown county—John Lawe and William B. Slaughter.

Milwaukee—George H. Walker, Gilbert Knapp and Benjamin H. Edgerton.

Iowa—William S. Hamilton, James R. Vineyard and Robert C. Hoard.

Crawford—Thomas P. Burnett.

Dubuque—Allen Hill and John Parker.

Des Moines—Joseph B. Teas and Jeremiah Smith.

The council was supposed to meet at Green Bay January 1st, 1836, but at the eleventh hour Acting Governor Horner issued a proclamation changing the date of meeting to December 1st, 1835. He gave only twenty-

one days' notice of the change, of which some of the members did not learn until late in December, while they were on their way to Green Bay to attend the session previously called for January 1st. No session was held in December, but on January 1st, a quorum met and elected William S. Hamilton president. The council condemned the action of the acting governor in changing the date fixed for its convening and criticised him sharply for remaining at Detroit upon pretext of awaiting the returns from the vote for territorial delegate in order to issue a certificate of election. The legislature declared that he had forfeited all just claim to the confidence of the people and pronounced him unworthy of his high office, because of incapacity and his disregard of duty. It called upon President Jackson to revoke his commission and to appoint to the office somebody who was "better qualified." The President paid no attention to this memorial.

The most important question that the council considered was a proposition to form Wisconsin Territory. A select committee was appointed to memorialize the Congress to this end. The selection of a capital for the territory was forced upon the immediate attention of the members by an amendment which Mr. Vineyard offered to the effect that "the seat of government be established on the east bank of the Mississippi River south of the Wisconsin River." President Hamilton moved that Cassville, on the east bank of the Mississippi, be selected. A lively discussion followed. Messrs. Law and Slaughter of Brown county were the members who voted

negatively. Mr. Slaughter urged that the members did not know what the boundaries of the new territory would be and that without this knowledge it was unwise to decide upon the seat of government. He advocated leaving the matter to a vote of the people. Mr. Knapp of Milwaukee argued that the proposed site was central. He had in mind the trans-Mississippi section of the territory. That section was destined to become independent within the next three years, but its members, as well as Mr. Burnett of Crawford county, threw their influence to the Iowa county site. The motion to memorialize the Congress to create the proposed territory, together with the amendment fixing upon Cassville as the capital, was adopted, each by a vote of seven to two.

The memorial, which was presented January 9th, emphasized the fertile soil, salubrious climate and commercial facilities of the land within the territory. It estimated the population at 25,000, and declared that within two years the number of inhabitants would be sufficient for a state under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. It was recommended that the council of the new territory should consist of twenty-five members, instead of twelve. The extinguishment of Indian titles to lands within the territory, the survey of the lands and the establishment of pre-emption rights with regard to the public domain were urged in the memorial.

The Council adopted the memorial. It also voted to ask the Congress to order a survey of all the necessary harbors along the west shore of Lake Michigan and of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and urged the erection of

a lighthouse at Milwaukee and another at Racine. The Congress was also requested to take steps to open and build the proposed highway from Chicago to Green Bay and to provide for a survey to assist the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan through the mining region, with the terminus at or near Cassville, on the Mississippi.

The Council adjourned sine die January 15th. Various members endeavored to prevail upon the Council to request the governor to call the next Council together at Cassville, Fond du Lac or Racine, but a contention by Mr. Slaughter that the law required the Council to meet at Green Bay was upheld.

George W. Jones, the delegate from the new territory, took his seat in the house at Washington December 7th, 1835, and was very industrious in urging the passage of the act to create the territory of Wisconsin. There was considerable debate upon questions that were not of great importance, and even the house and the senate disagreed upon several points. The bill, however, was finally passed by both houses. It received the President's approval April 20th, 1836. By its terms the executive power was vested in the governor, whose term was three years, but who could be removed by the President at any time. He was required to reside in the territory. He was to be commander-in-chief of the militia and was to act as superintendent of Indian affairs. He could grant pardons for any offense against the laws of the territory and was given the power to reprieve for offenses against the laws of the United States. His

salary was fixed at \$2,500 a year. A secretary of the territory, to be appointed for a term of four years, was provided for. In addition to his ordinary duties, he was to be acting governor in cases of emergency.

The legislature consisted of a Council, composed of thirteen members elected for four years, and a House of Representatives, composed of twenty-six members, to be elected for two years. Each member was to receive \$3 a day and a similar sum for every twenty miles of travel each way. The acts of governor and legislature were made subject to the approval of the Congress.

The judicial power of the territory was vested in a supreme court, consisting of a chief justice and two associate justices, each to receive \$1,800 a year; district courts, probate courts and justices of the peace. The district courts were to be three in number and each was to be presided over by a justice of the supreme court. Their jurisdiction was similar to that of the circuit and district courts of the United States.

The territorial act took effect July 3d. President Jackson had commissioned Henry Dodge, of Dodgeville, who was a Democrat, as governor; John S. Horner as secretary; Charles Dunn, of Illinois, as chief justice, and David Irvin, of Virginia, and William C. Frazer, of Pennsylvania, as associate justices; W. W. Chapman, Burlington, Iowa, as attorney, and Francis Gehon, of Dubuque, as marshal. On the Fourth of July the governor and the secretary took the oath of office at Mineral Point, where a celebration was held by the residents of the mining region. The inauguration of the territorial

government added interest to the patriotic observance of the day.

A census taken in August, as a basis of apportioning members of the legislature to the various counties, showed a total population of 22,218. Des Moines was first, with 6,257; Iowa next with 5,234; Dubuque third, with 4,274; Milwaukee fourth, with 2,893; Brown fifth, with 2,706, and Crawford last, with 854. Governor Dodge apportioned the members of the legislature as follows: Brown county, two councilmen and three representatives; Crawford, no councilmen and two representatives; Milwaukee, two councilmen and three representatives; Dubuque, three councilmen and five representatives; Des Moines, three councilmen and seven representatives.

The governor directed that the first election should be held on the second Monday of October. The territorial act had not fixed the seat of government and the governor directed that the legislature should meet at Belmont, in Iowa county, on October 25th, to organize.

At the same time that the people of the territory elected a legislature they chose a delegate to Congress. The general feeling was that George W. Jones, who had distinguished himself during his short term at Washington as the delegate from the remnant of the territory of Michigan, should be honored with re-election. At a public meeting held at Belmont during September, this feeling took definite form and he was most heartily endorsed. He was pronounced a man "of integrity, untiring zeal, perseverance, industry and weight

of character." Only one candidate appeared in the field against him. That was Moses Mecker, a pioneer of the lead mining region. In a card that bore the date of Blue River, Iowa county, September 21, he announced his aspirations to the office. He received the endorsement of a meeting held at Mineral Point to nominate candidates for the legislature. It is a surprising fact that the only county in the territory that Jones did not carry was his own—Iowa. It has since been explained that unfounded reports that Jones was personally interested in one particular place as the seat of government caused this disaffection toward him in his own county.

In some of the counties the contests for seats in the legislature were strenuous. Not a few candidates appeared in the field and a great deal of interest was awakened. The most noteworthy of these contests took place in Iowa county. The manner of dividing that county was in dispute. One faction wanted county seats at Mineral Point and Lancaster and the other wanted them located at Belmont or Platteville and Cassville. The Mineral Point ticket carried the day, with the exception that James R. Vineyard, running on the Belmont ticket, was elected a member of the council. The most surprising feature of the election was the defeat of Morgan L. Martin as a candidate for the council in Brown county.

When the legislature convened at Green Bay, the council elected Henry S. Baird president, Edward McSherry of Mineral Point secretary and William Henry of Mineral Point sergeant-at-arms. The house of representatives elected Peter Hill Engle speaker, Warner

Lewis of Dubuque chief clerk, and Jesse M. Harrison sergeant-at-arms.

Governor Dodge's message to the Legislature recommended a memorial to the Congress asking for an appropriation of \$250,000 to complete the work of removing obstructions to the navigation of the Upper Mississippi. He urged improving the navigation of the Rock River and connecting it with the Wisconsin River by way of the Four Lakes at Madison. He recommended a grant of land by the Congress in aid of a railroad between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. He also suggested that the Congress grant to the territory one township of land, the proceeds to be used in establishing "an academy for the education of youth."

The selection of a permanent site for the capital soon became uppermost in the minds of the residents of the territory. Judge Doty, during his journeys in the state in connection with his holding sessions of court, had decided that the isthmus between the Third and Fourth of the Four Lakes was suited in every way to the purpose of a capital. In partnership with Stevens T. Mason, governor of Michigan territory, he purchased about a thousand acres of land in the four sections upon the common square of which the state capitol now stands. He platted the land and gave the name of Madison to the proposed town. Town lots were freely given to members of the legislature and to their friends. The contest over the selection of a capital formally began November 21st. A bill to make Madison the capital was considered in committee of the whole for two days

and then reported favorably. It was fought vigorously, and motions to amend the bill by making Fond du Lac, Dubuque, Portage, Helena, Milwaukee, Racine, Belmont, Mineral Point, Platteville, Green Bay, Cassville, Belleview, Koshkonong, Wisconsinapolis, Peru and Wisconsin City the seat of government, were made in succession, but always with the same result—ayes six, noes seven. Madison was selected by the same vote. The members of the Council who voted for Madison were Arndt, Brigham, Ingraham, Smith, Sweet, Teas and Terry. In the House the bill was passed November 28th by a vote of 15 to 11. The contest in the lower branch of the legislature was not nearly so bitter as it was in the Council. Even after the final vote had been taken, five members of the Council formally protested against the selection of Madison. The tactics pursued by the owners of the Madison town site and their apparent influence upon some members of the legislature caused much scandal.

In June, 1836, the trans-Mississippi portion of Wisconsin territory was set aside as the Territory of Iowa.

In 1838 George W. Jones, Thomas P. Burnett and James D. Doty were candidates for delegate to the Congress. Doty received 1,758 votes, Jones 1,174 and Burnett 920. The fact that Jones had acted as second for Representative Jonathan Cilley of Maine in a duel with Representative William J. Graves of Kentucky, cost him many votes in the eastern part of the state. In that duel rifles were used and Cilley was killed by

Graves' third shot. Jones contested the election of Doty on the ground that a delegate must be elected for one Congress only, and that as his term had not begun until March, it would not expire until March, 1839. The contest was not successful. Soon afterward the Legislature amended the law so as to make the term of a delegate correspond to one term of a Congressman.

About this time national party lines began to appear in territorial politics. During June, 1839, Doty was renominated for delegate by a "Territorial Convention" that met at Madison. A Democratic territorial convention which met at Madison during the same month nominated Byron H. Kilbourn, of Milwaukee for delegate. In this convention were many Whigs, but it formally called itself a Democratic convention and declared in favor of drawing party lines. In the platform which it adopted there was a bitter personal attack upon Doty, who was accused of "promoting sectional jealousies and prejudices" in order to aggrandize himself; of misrepresenting the reputation and the public character of those who will not administer to his ambitious cravings." Aspersions were cast upon his personal integrity. Kilbourn, his chief opponent, a man of excellent reputation, issued an address to the people in which he showed ability of no mean order in dealing with the political questions of the day. Doty published several communications in reply to the charges which had been made against him. Moreover, he gained many votes by a hurried canvass of the territory. His suavity and personality, coupled with his admitted ability, won the vic-

tory. He received 2,125 votes to 1,153 for Kilbourn and 861 for Burnett.

Governor Dodge, who had been appointed for a term of three years, was reappointed for a similar term.

In the session of 1841 the legislature recognized the town as a unit of municipal government. The county system had been adopted years before because the people of the lead district, who were in a majority, were mostly from the South and therefore used to administration by counties. The influx of immigrants from New England, where the town meeting was popular, and of immigrants from New York, where the town-and-county system was in use, resulted in a sentiment favorable to a change from the county system pure and simple. The act of 1841 gave the counties authority to vote for or against a system of town government. The act outlined a complete system of town government and provided that if a majority of the electors of any county voted in favor of adopting the act, its provisions should thereafter govern that county. At the election held in April, 1842, some counties adopted the town system and others rejected it. In the years that followed, the town system gained ground steadily in the various counties because of the change in the character of the population.

In 1841, after the death of President William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, who succeeded to the presidency, removed Governor Dodge and appointed James Duane Doty in his place.

During the same year the Whigs held a convention and perfected a territorial organization. A central com-

mittee was appointed and so were a number of district committees. The Democrats thereupon held a convention and organized upon similar lines. A little later the Whigs nominated Jonathan E. Arnold for delegate to the Congress. The Democrats nominated Henry Dodge, who was elected in September by a majority of 507.

Tragedy marked the legislative session of 1842. Charles C. P. Arndt, prominent in territorial affairs, was shot and killed by James R. Vineyard, a fellow member of the Council. Arndt was a devoted friend of Governor Doty and a strong partisan, while Vineyard was more independent—some said more politic. The Governor had nominated Enos S. Baker for sheriff of Grant County. The Council had not only rejected the nomination, but had laid upon the table a motion to reconsider its adverse action. February 11th, the Governor sent to the Council a communication signed by nineteen members of the House of Representatives, regardless of party, asking him to renominate Baker. Arndt moved to take up the motion to reconsider the vote rejecting Baker. He intimated that Vineyard himself had given "the highest testimonials as to the character of the nominee." Vineyard said that this statement was false. There was a heated discussion, both members trying to speak at once. Order was restored and soon an adjournment was taken. Then Arndt again approached Vineyard, who was still at his desk. High words followed. Arndt struck Vineyard. The latter drew a pistol and fired. Arndt reeled and fell. The wound quickly proved mortal. The council refused to allow Vineyard

to resign, but instead expelled him. Vineyard was indicted on a charge of manslaughter, but in October, 1843, he was acquitted. The testimony showed that he acted in self-defense. He and Arndt had been warm friends and on the morning of the shooting they had been seen with their arms around each other's necks.

In 1843 the Democrats renominated Henry Dodge for delegate to the Congress and the Whigs placed General George W. Hickcox in the field. The campaign was spirited. It resulted in the election of Dodge, who received 4,635 votes to 3,184 for his opponent.

In September, 1844, Nathaniel P. Tallmadge was commissioned governor of the territory in place of James Duane Doty. Tallmadge was removed in May, 1845. He was succeeded by Henry Dodge. In September Morgan L. Martin, running as the Democratic nominee, was elected delegate to the Congress. He received 6,803 votes against 5,787 cast for James Collins of Iowa County, the nominee of the Whigs, and against 790 cast for Edward D. Holton, of Milwaukee, who had been nominated by the Liberty party, an anti-slavery organization.

In 1847 the Democratic candidate for delegate to the Congress was Moses M. Strong of Iowa County. The Whigs nominated John H. Tweedy of Milwaukee and the Abolition party named Charles Durkee. Tweedy was elected. He received 10,670 votes, while Strong polled 9,646 and Durkee 973. By this time the population of the territory had increased to 210,546.

The construction of the territorial capitol at Madi-



Moses H. Strong



son was productive of scandal that extended over a period of several years. In accordance with the act establishing the seat of government at Madison, the territorial legislature of 1836 elected James D. Doty, John F. O'Neil and Augustus A. Bird commissioners to arrange for the erection of suitable buildings to accommodate the legislature and the territorial officers. The cornerstone of the capitol was laid on the Fourth of July, 1837, but at the end of the year only the basement walls had been completed. Doty was the treasurer of the commission and it was stated in a report by a legislative committee, made in January, 1840, that he had received the amounts of two congressional appropriations of \$20,000 each for building the capitol. New commissioners who had been appointed in 1839, when the original commissioners were removed, reported to the legislature that although they had made assiduous efforts to settle the accounts of the former commissioners, they had not been able even to arrange a meeting with them, or with the original contractor, one James Morrison. His contract had expired during the previous September and thereupon the new commissioners had taken possession of the uncompleted building. Morrison, however, broke the lock of the door and forcibly retook possession of the structure. The members of the commission had to obtain a writ of restitution in order to regain possession of it. The commission, in its report, charged that the contractor and the former commissioners, including Doty, were partners in the work of construction, thus "showing a fraudulent design to specu-

late and trade upon the funds of the territory." The report estimated the expenditures which had been made and showed that the sum of \$21,345.40 was in the hands of the former commissioners and the contractors. The message of the Governor recommended that steps be taken to ascertain what disposition had been made of the money for which the old commission had not properly accounted. The majority of a joint investigating committee reported to the legislature that with more than two years in which to work, and with plenty of funds at its disposal, the old commission "had done little more than erect a shell of a capitol, which is scarcely capable of sustaining its own weight." A very slight **examination of the commission's work, the report continued, would satisfy anybody that the money had "not been expended where the law intended it to be, to wit: in the erection of public buildings."** The report declared that a secret partnership existed between Doty, Bird and O'Neil, the former commissioners, and Morrison, the contractor. Afterward, in a formal communication to the legislature, Bird admitted the existence of a partnership between the former commissioners and the contractor in the building of a hotel and a store at Madison, but denied that there was any partnership between them in the work of erecting the capitol. The legislature amended the law so as to provide for the election of one commissioner of public buildings every year by joint ballot of both houses. Nathaniel C. Prentiss was elected to the position on the day that the governor approved the change in the law.

Doty's only defense of the serious charge against him was technical. In April, 1840, thirteen months after he had been removed as a commissioner, he tendered his resignation of the office to the legislature. Doty's methods in connection with the erection of the capitol added to the unfavorable reputation which had resulted from the means which were employed to bring about the selection of Madison as the capitol of the territory. In February, 1843, Henry Dodge, the territorial delegate, asked the president to remove Doty from the position of governor. He made a number of charges against Doty, the most sensational one being that the governor was a defaulter in connection with the building of the capitol. The president did not remove Doty, who, however, was not reappointed in 1844.

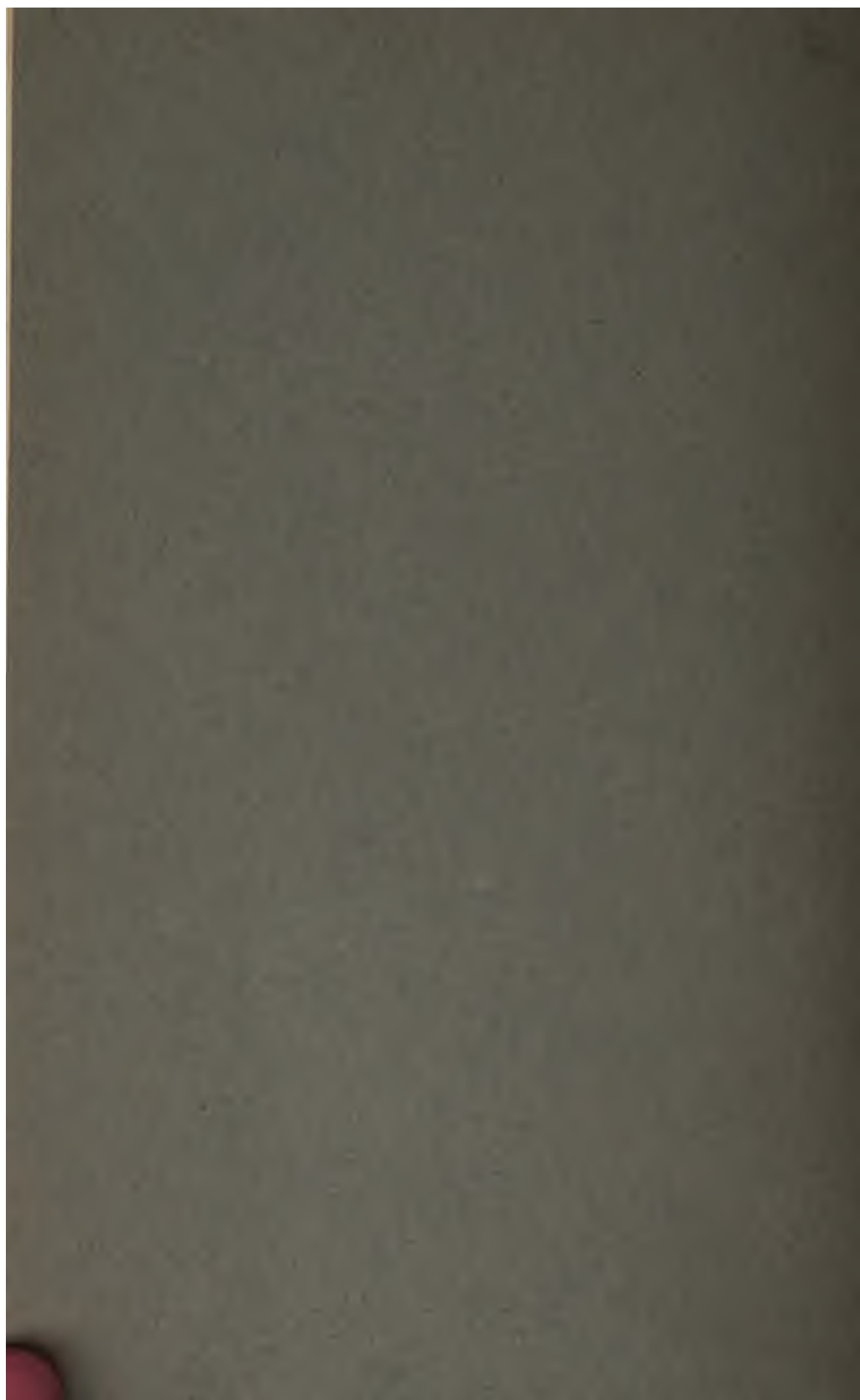




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